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Contents for March 1940

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS	<i>H. P. J.</i>	150
LETTER TO THE EDITOR		152
EDITORIAL COMMENT	<i>A. W.</i>	153
EDITOR PUTS CIVICS ON PAGE ONE	<i>Miriam Roher</i>	156
KENOSHA CITIZENS IN ACTION	<i>William C. Wickman</i>	164
COMMUNITIES SETTLE THEIR LABOR PROBLEMS		
	<i>William L. Nunn</i>	174
AMERICAN GOVERNORS—1930 TO 1940	<i>John A. Perkins</i>	178
CHOOSING ELECTION OFFICERS	<i>Murray H. Shusterman</i>	185
CITY EMPLOYEES VS. MANAGER PLAN: BANE OR BOON?		194
CONTRIBUTORS IN REVIEW		197
CAMPAIGNING FOR COUNCIL IN CINCINNATI ..	<i>Charles H. Tobias</i>	198
THE RESEARCHER'S DIGEST: MARCH		200
NEWS IN REVIEW		
NOTES AND EVENTS	<i>H. M. Olmsted</i>	203
COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP GOVERNMENT	<i>Elwyn A. Mauck</i>	208
CITIZEN ACTION	<i>Elwood N. Thompson</i>	210
TAXATION AND FINANCE	<i>Wade S. Smith</i>	213
PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION	<i>George H. Hallett, Jr.</i>	216
BOOKS IN REVIEW	<i>Elsie S. Parker</i>	219

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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The League's Business

Regional Conferences Held

The third of a series of 1940 regional conferences on citizenship and government under the joint sponsorship of the National Municipal League and coöperating local organizations will be held March 20, 21, and 22 at Dallas, Texas. Public officials, educators, and representatives of citizens organizations, business, and finance from various southwestern states will speak and participate in the sessions which will be divided between the Baker and Adolphus Hotels. The Dallas Citizens Council will be joint sponsor of the conference.

The regional conferences, representing a new departure in League policy, are patterned after the National Conferences on Government which the League has conducted each year since 1894, and are designed to implement the growing awareness of the importance of popular understanding of the problems of responsible citizenship.

The Southern Regional Conference was held February 6, 7, and 8 at the Piedmont Hotel, Atlanta, in coöperation with the Institute of Citizenship of Emory University, Agnes Scott College, and the Georgia School of Technology. There were forty-seven speakers, including Samuel H. Ordway, Jr., president of the National Civil Service Reform League and former United States Civil Service Commissioner; Frank Bane, executive director, Council of State Governments; and Howard P. Jones, secretary of the National Municipal League and New York State Civil Service Commissioner.

With the coöperation of the Minneapolis Civic Council, of which Allen H. Seed, Jr., a member of the League council, is executive vice president, a regional conference was held February 19, 20, and 21 at the Curtis Hotel, Minneapolis. The conference drew a large attendance from Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois, and North and South Dakota. Among the hundred or more participants and speakers were C. A. Dykstra, president of the University of Wisconsin and president of the National Municipal League; Leonard D. White, former United States Civil Service Commissioner; Leslie M. Graylin, commissioner of administration for Minnesota; and Roy V. Peel, director of the National Municipal League's Institute of Politics at Indiana University.

Coöperating with the Minneapolis Civic Council were the Minneapolis Council of Civic Clubs, the Fifth District Minnesota Federation of Women's Clubs, the League of Minnesota Municipalities, the Minneapolis League of Women Voters, the Minneapolis Taxpayers Association, the Minnesota Tax Conference, and the Woman's Club of Minneapolis.

A New Educational Program

The National Municipal League is sponsoring a new program on education for democracy in which it is being aided by the Payne Fund which has released Mr. S. Howard Evans for direction of the project. Invitations are being sent to some six hundred college and university presidents and to nation-wide citizens organizations, requesting their participation. These invitations are being sent in the name of a sponsoring committee consisting of the following well known educators: President C. A. Dykstra of the University of Wisconsin, who is also president of the National Municipal League and who will serve as chairman, President Donald Cowling of Carleton College, President Arthur G. Crane of the University of Wyoming, President Thurston J. Davies of Colorado College, President Edmund E. Day of Cornell University, President Robert I. Gannon, S.J., of Fordham University, President Meta Glass of Sweet Briar College, President

Dexter M. Keezer of Reed College, President Raymond A. Kent of the University of Louisville, President Homer P. Rainey of the University of Texas, President H. B. Wells of the University of Indiana, and President Henry M. Wriston of Brown University.

The proposal is designed to make available for general educational use a new technique developed as part of the program of preparing voters for intelligent action on the complicated issues of the New York State Constitutional Convention of 1938. In the general election of that November 3,000,000 average American citizens voted on nine constitutional amendments proposed by the convention with an intelligence and discrimination astonishing to the experts.

This technique was developed by the Special Committee on the New York State Constitution which was created under the auspices of the National Municipal League, with the coöperation and assistance of the Payne Fund. The committee consisted of the presidents or administrative heads of forty-seven New York State colleges, universities, and normal schools and the representatives of thirteen state-wide citizens organizations. Mr. Evans acted as chairman of the committee.

The function of each college represented on the Special Committee was to act as a regional center of information for organized citizens groups in neighboring communities. It included an impartial development of the facts about constitutional problems, simplification of the facts for presentation to citizen discussion groups, and actual presentation of facts to such groups.

The function of each of the state-wide citizens organizations represented on the committee was that of sponsoring discussion.

Because this program was so successful in New York State it is proposed now to expand it nationally. The plan of coöperation will remain the same, with colleges and universities acting as local centers of fact-finding and with citizens organizations encouraging their various local groups to work with nearby institutions. It is understood that in any locality the citizens groups and the various institutions are completely free to develop any program they may choose. The only function of the nationally organized central committee will be that of helping to supply to all coöperating groups the best scholarship available nationally upon the subject or subjects which may be under consideration in any locality.

New York State Committee Meets

Members of the New York State Committee of the National Municipal League met February 28 at Union College, Schenectady, and adopted a legislative program for recommendation to the New York State legislature. Among the matters approved in principle were: permission to municipalities to borrow to reorganize unsound pension systems on an actuarial basis; changes in the judiciary, including power for the state's highest court to remove or retire other judges, statutory recognition of a code of judicial ethics, and nonpartisan election of elective judges; a state "Hatch law"; various improvements in election procedure, including permanent registration, standard rules for proportional representation for adoption in city charters and other laws by reference; electric voting machine and a legislative council for the state legislature. M. P. Catherwood, chairman of the state committee, presided.

White Plains Survey Completed

On February 29 the Consultant Service of the National Municipal League submitted to the Common Council and Board of Education of White Plains its report on a survey of the principal administrative departments and schools of the city of White Plains, New

(Continued on page 163)

Letter to the Editor

To the Editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW:

In order to clarify and complete the record in the recent Richmond-Henrico County annexation, and to avoid the implication that the decision was one against the manager plan, it should be said that the *manager plan* had only an incidental relation to the case.

It was my fortune, as technical adviser to the city attorney and one of the city's chief witnesses, to be present throughout almost all of the three months of testimony-taking in the case, and to read the transcript of such evidence as I did not hear in court.

It is true that the county's defense was based largely on a comparison between its up-to-date administration and what it called the "horse-and-buggy" character of the Richmond government. That the court took notice of these arguments is evident from the opinion of Judge Barksdale. They were not, however, allowed to affect the court's decision.

The question at issue was whether eight parcels of land lying adjacent to the city boundary should be included in the city or left in the county. One of these parcels—Parcel E—includes Windsor Farms and Westhampton, Richmond's most fashionable suburban residential section. Not unnaturally this area, most of which is organized as a sanitary and a fire district, and which has Richmond water and a connection with Richmond's sewers, received most of the attention of the public, the press, and—it must be admitted—of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW. This parcel was strongly opposed to annexation. From it had come the backbone of the support for the manager plan in Henrico County.

While the annexation proceedings were pending, the county began the construction of a trunk sewer and disposal plant and prepared plans for an independent water system, principally for this parcel, which Professor Abel Wolman of Johns Hopkins University, one of the most highly regarded experts in the country, testified were highly uneconomic in view of the availability of the city's facilities. It may be admitted, however, that this parcel could have provided itself by district taxation—questions of expense aside—with all the necessary services of government.

Parcel E, however, contains only about half the area and population covered by the annexation petition. Along the eastern and northeastern boundaries of the city were a series of parcels with an almost equal population, the whole or large portions of each of which are without water supply, fire protection, or sewers; in other words, without the fundamental necessities of urban living. And for these areas, not only had the county made no provision for urban services but seemed quite unlikely to make any.

A great deal was made in a recent editorial in the REVIEW¹ of the fact that in Henrico County, as a result of the district system, the people pay only for what they get. This is true. It is a corollary of this that they get only what they pay for. It is, therefore, likewise true that large numbers of people, being unable to pay, get nothing though their need is intense. These parcels could not be made part of special taxing districts because they could not afford to pay for the works and services such districts could supply. On the other hand, city water pipes, city sewers, city gas mains, and city fire and police protection, were available just across an artificial boundary line, and the city proposed to extend its services into these districts immediately following annexation. It was these facts which led the court to decree the annexation.

The issue was not the relative quality of government in Henrico County and Richmond, but the kind of governmental service each was prepared to offer. A first-rate county

¹May 1939, p. 333.

(Continued on page 155)

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Supplemental to Mr. Pope's Couplet

THERE is an unfortunate disposition to feel that simply because a man is very old or because he has been dead a long time there is something especially wise about his counsel. Ready examples may be found by proving either side of an argument by quoting from the Bible, from George Washington, from Thomas Jefferson.

One need not be so foolhardy as even to wish to show Pope less than his day's master of letters to regret the lasting mischief of his couplet, "For forms of government let fools contest, that which is best administered is best." Other men who have been respected for their thinking rather than for their mastery of technique and grace of expression have taken Pope apart pretty thoroughly. Some have insisted that he became a subsidized champion of the established order, and that he "concerned himself wholly about the phrase, leaving the thought to be as faulty as it would."¹

All that and much more has become pretty well established so far as Pope is concerned, and we might even quote Pope against Pope: "But when to mischief mortals bend their will how soon they find fit instruments of ill"² and "Be not the first by whom the new is tried nor yet the last to lay the old aside."³

It is more to the point to deal with the recent epidemic of newspaper editorials which argue that the council-manager plan is no absolute insurance of good government (as if anyone ever claimed it was). This time very few mention Pope's couplet. They have new and current evidence—Kansas City. So the manager plan does away with graft, crooked elections, job-brokering, bossism, does it? Look at Kansas City! And most of them say or imply that the manager plan "did not prevent Boss Pendergast from stepping in and seizing control."

Their antecedents are a bit mixed. The Pendergast dynasty was well established long before anyone ever breathed the magic words "manager plan" around Kansas City. A distracted public turned to this comparatively new idea in the desperate hope that it might do, even in Kansas City, what it apparently had done for many other similarly plagued communities. Demonstrably the new form of government did work some improvements for Kansas City, but it was no hocus pocus which caused a boss to disappear, especially a boss who was so powerful, so crooked, and so far beyond the reach of the law.

But the scientist in his laboratory, Dr. Gallup among his polls, or the manufacturer of a new type of steel would scarcely base his conclusions on a single experience if it ran counter to the evidence of one hun-

¹*Literary Essays*, by James Russell Lowell.

²*Rape of the Lock*.

³*Essays on Criticism*.

dred to five hundred others. He would let the majority rule.

The succession of distinguished committees of administrators and students of government who have painstakingly developed the *Model City Charter* have no interest whatever in adhering to a single form, rule, or procedure. Their only wish has been and is to examine actual experience and from it to develop workable methods. If some city tried a different structure of government which might be named "engineer plan" or "auditor plan" or "superintendent plan" or "boo boo plan" they'd favor it—if it proved itself capable of translating the will of the people more efficiently, more economically, and more honestly into administrative action than the council-manager plan has done.

The Kansas City experience is full of significance, but not the kind of significance so carelessly attributed to it. There would be more point to running a "Name Three" contest, like this:

Name three commission or weak-mayor or even strong-mayor cities in its class which, during the last fifteen years, can equal Cincinnati's record.

Name three commission or weak-mayor or even strong-mayor cities in its class which, during the last twenty years, can equal Kalamazoo's record.

Naming five or ten would be fairer odds, but naming only three is difficult enough—impossible, in fact.

Several years ago an editorial in the REVIEW⁴ touched one of the most significant features of the council-manager form of government. It said: "To be most effective, a cause must be capable of being simply expressed; it must furnish a rallying cry around which may be mustered large groups of citizens. This, too, change in government provides. Of the 450 [now about 500] cities which have adopted the city manager form of government, few indeed are they which would have witnessed any fundamental improvement in the conduct of their affairs had they not changed their form of government. All too numerous are they, indeed, where a movement for improvement in government would never have developed sufficient virility to emerge triumphant without the issue of change in the form of government to present to the people."

Tax Rates of Council-Manager Cities

IT seems logical to concede that the form of government may not be the most essential need in self-governing communities; but isn't it a bit silly to say it is of no significance? Every day evidence continues to pile up.

Each December the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW publishes the

tax rates of cities of 30,000 population or over except for those few cities which for some reason stand on their "constitutional rights" or something and fail to answer. These rates are adjusted for purposes of comparison because all cities do not

⁴"Fools and Forms," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, April 1937.

assess the same, and obviously it would be unfair, without adjustment, to compare the tax rate of a city which assesses at 35 per cent of true value with that of a city which assesses at 100 per cent.

The figures might be analyzed in any one of dozens of ways. But while we are talking about forms of government it might be of some value to see how cities using the council-manager form compare with others.

Of the 287 cities listed, slightly un-

der 25 per cent have the council-manager plan. Yet 50 per cent of the ten with the lowest tax rates and 50 per cent of the thirty lowest are manager cities.

To argue that administrative structure is of no significance, as some people do, is approximately the same as saying a good workman is just as good no matter what tools he has, that a good pilot ought to do as well in an old World War "Jenny" as in a modern plane.

A Good Neighbor Slaps Our Boys

OUR steamed and respected contemporary, *The Municipal Review of Canada*, recently pricked the pride of American "experts" and "specialists" in municipal administration by arguing that "in civic affairs Canada has little to learn from the United States," and that therefore Canadian cities should quit hiring our experts.

The *Review* (of Canada) now claims this suggestion has aroused our experts' resentment; and in one devastating gesture it sweeps them all aside and puts them in their places. How? By republishing from a single issue of *Time* stories showing how badly Kansas City, Phila-

delphia, and Cleveland are governed.

While it peeps up almost any publication to republish things from *Time*, one cannot help being stricken with some doubts as to whether these stories indicate lack of ability and experience on the part of our administrative consultants.

May we suggest that one becomes able in a field by having problems to solve, the more difficult the better? If, as is claimed, the "whole machinery of municipal government in the Dominion" is "far superior to that of its southern neighbor" it must be quite inadequate as a place to develop governmental trouble shooters.

Come, come, neighbor.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

(Continued from page 152)

government may well be inadequate for the needs of urban communities. If it embraces, as Henrico does, a large rural area, urban needs must be left to districts and the district plan will not work for small poor communities scattered around the periphery of a large city.

As a matter of fact, Richmond provides municipal services unusually complete for a southern city, some of which the county now enjoys without paying for them. The city, in the court's judgment, is ready and able to extend these services to the annexed areas at a less cost to the community as a whole than could the county.

THOMAS H. REED

New York, February 22, 1940

Editor Puts Civics on Page One

"Enlightenment on municipal affairs has been a circulation builder and a circulation retainer"

By MIRIAM ROHER
National Municipal League

IN NOVEMBER 1938 Yonkers, New York, voted to adopt the council-manager plan, to go into effect in January 1940. To many citizens the prospect of change was bewildering. Was a minor revolution due to occur in Yonkers within a few months, would all city employees be dismissed, would there still be a mayor, would taxes skyrocket—or what?

Oxie Reichler, managing editor of the *Yonkers Herald-Statesman*, decided that what was needed was a simple, non-bombastic, nonpartisan interpretation that anyone could understand. To a young reporter on his staff he assigned the task of writing four or five questions and answers a day, designed to bring out the meat of the manager plan. Like these:

Q. When does the city manager form of government go into effect?

A. On January 1, 1940—the day the present city administration goes out of power.

Q. How much will the manager be paid?

A. As much as the council decides he's worth.

Q. Can a Yonkers resident be manager?

A. Yes, provided he meets the charter qualification of "executive ability."

And so on. The questions and answers were printed in fourteen point type and put in a prominent box on the front page of the newspaper.

The result was surprising. People who had heretofore done very well,

they said, with the New York City papers (Yonkers is a city of 134,000 just north of New York City) suddenly found that a subscription to the *Herald-Statesman* was a necessity.

It is the custom of the *Herald-Statesman* to run the first four installments of a new feature on the front page, and then to banish it to an inside page. But when Editor Reichler attempted to follow the practice with this series, his circulation manager said "Over my dead body" or words to that effect. So the questions and answers stayed on page one, and, says Mr. Reichler: "In my twenty years of newspaper writing and editing, I do not recall any piece of news or feature presentation that even remotely stimulated direct sales of the paper as did the question-and-answer matter. Members of our sales crew, who are regarded as doing pretty well when they write two or three new subscriptions a day, came in tremendously excited to discover they could—by exhibiting the question-and-answer articles on the new form of government—enlist as many as sixteen or more new readers in a morning."

The questions and answers ran for two months, twice as long as a normal series. The circulation department insisted on it. "After a while," says Mr. Reichler, "we were almost frantic trying to think up more ques-

tions and answers. We had asked ourselves dry."

To keep the series going, the reporter took to analyzing the charter minutely, asking himself questions about what would happen under such-and-such circumstances, and then supplying the answer. It was a space filler then, but within a few weeks after the manager began work, people realized that the space filler had been a smarter prognosticator of some of the legal snarls in the charter than the charter drafters themselves.

The question-and-answer series even had its repercussions in the Yonkers public schools. Mr. Reichler got wind of the dent he had made on the educational world when the newspaper began to be flooded with calls from school children who wanted yesterday's paper. He discovered that teachers had been assigning the daily paper as part of the civics lesson. He therefore had all the questions and answers and explanatory articles made up into a tabloid, which he presented free to the schools, to distribute to their pupils. The teachers promptly dubbed the papers textbook material, and insisted on their return at the end of the term, so that next year's class might use them.

READER INTEREST

The entire episode constitutes Mr. Reichler's almost inadvertent proof that a newspaper need not be an economic martyr to assume that rôle of unbiased leadership which "reformers" are always urging on the press. Straight-from-the-shoulder, understandable, uncolored information about political goings-on is, in these days of ubiquitous propaganda

machines, a pearl of great price and John Q. Citizen, it appears, will gladly pay five cents to dive for it. According to the Yonkers editor, "We have found that enlightenment on municipal affairs has been a circulation builder and a circulation retainer."

Emboldened by the success of the question-and-answer series, and urged on by the circulation department, Mr. Reichler began looking around for a new stunt to hang on the manager plan peg. But the paper was in an economy mood, so that new material had to be not only good but *cheap*. A few months after the question-and-answer series had run itself into circulation history, and five months before the manager plan was due to go into operation, Mr. Reichler came upon his next idea. He picked out the paper with the largest circulation in each of fifty cities which has the manager plan, and on August 31, 1939, wrote the editor the following letter:

Dear Mr. ———

We are preparing a series of articles on city manager government and the way it is working out in various municipalities—each to be written by a competent newspaperman on the scene, each to be by-lined with his name and paper.

If you will assign one of your staff to prepare such a report—possibly 500 to 800 words—I shall be glad to forward you a set of proofs of the entire series, so that you may present them to your readers.

We should like the report to discuss outstanding problems that faced the city manager administration, how they were solved, if and where the plan broke down, and whether the municipality appears to be progressing or receding under the manager government.

I shall appreciate a word from you

CITY MANAGER LOWDOWN: Salaries Go Up And Taxes Come Down In Portsmouth, Va.

EDITOR'S NOTE—This is one of a series of articles on City Manager government—where it works and doesn't—by working newspapermen on it.

By W. W.

Sacramento Reports Its Stride Under 19 Years Of Manager Form

EDITOR'S NOTE—This is one of a series of articles on "The Lowdown On City Manager" written from a newspaperman's point of view.

By ARTHUR B. WAUGH
Associate Editor, The Sacramento Bee

One of the first cities in the West to adopt the City Manager form of government, Sacramento will celebrate her nineteenth year of the City Manager form of government on July 1, 1940.

Manager Gives Wheeling Joy And Sorrow But Also Lowest Tax Rate In America

By ROBERT L. PLUMMER
Staff Writer, Wheeling (W. Va.) Intelligence

Wheeling has achieved the lowest tax rate in the United States—\$1.05 per \$100 of assessed valuation—under the City Manager form of government.

How Cincinnati, Under Manager, Became 'Best-Governed City'

EDITOR'S NOTE—This is one of a series of articles on "The Lowdown On City Manager" which appears from time to time.

By WILLIAM H. HESSLER
Chief Editorial Writer, Cincinnati Enquirer

Cincinnati is the largest city in the United States to use the City Manager system and expects to continue using it.

It was adopted in 1902 and has been a phenomenal good result.

Representative Cincinnati—

Government Cost Reduced 17½% By Manager In Hamilton, Ohio

By CLAYTON A. LEITER
Journal-News

Formerly of Hamilton (Ohio) Journal-News

Hamilton is a city which owns and operates its own utilities and has been a

Lexington Has Manager Form But Still Lacks The Spirit

By FRED R. WACHS
General Manager, Lexington (Ky.) Herald

It is not an exaggeration to say that, even name, Lexington has not had City Manager government since 1936.

For four years Lexington has been operating under the City Manager form of government.

Meddling By City Commissioners Is Miami's Manager Problem

By MISS JEANNE BELLAMY
City Hall Reporter, Miami (Fla.) Herald

The fly on the nose of the City Manager in Miami is the meddling of the City Commissioners.

Miami adopted the City Manager form of government in 1921 with a charter model charter promulgated by the National Association of City Managers.

In the 18 years, the City Manager form of government has been in operation in Miami.

By HAROLD R. GERACE
City Hall Reporter, Flint (Mich.) Journal

One of the major accomplishments attributable to the City Manager form of government in Flint is the

By E. D. ALEXANDER
City Hall Reporter, Fort Worth

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as to whether you are willing to co-operate.

Sincerely yours,
(Signed) Oxie Reichler
Managing Editor

Again the response exceeded the editor's wildest dreams. Snapping up the bait of a good series of sure-fire articles entirely free, numbers of editors were delighted to assign a staff man to a few hours work for the Yonkers paper. When thirty articles had flowed into his office within a couple of weeks from the time his appeal was mailed, Mr. Reichler stopped searching his mail for more. The series, titled "The Lowdown on City Manager," began in the *Yonkers Herald-Statesman* in October 1939 and ran for thirty days. It also ran in contributing newspapers and in numerous other papers which had heard of the series, asked for them, and been supplied—still free of charge.

Fellow-newspapermen soon pointed out to Mr. Reichler that he had originated a new technique in the science of news-gathering. Within a few weeks, the editor of the *Kansas City Journal* inquired: "Why don't we do the same thing on another subject? Will you coöperate with me if I write editors and ask for an article on their city's parking problems?" Two weeks later Mr. Reichler had on his desk the tear sheets of an entire series on parking. He hadn't even done the gathering this time—the Kansas City editor had done that. The whole thing had cost no one any more than a very small item of postage, stationery, and stenographer's time.

A third use of the new news-gathering technique has now been made

by Mr. Reichler himself, in a New York state-wide series on local pension fund operation, which is a particularly pressing question in New York now because of new constitutional provisions.

Important as this is from a newspaperman's point of view, the implications are even more interesting for the science of government. In gathering thirty articles from thirty newspapermen in thirty cities, Mr. Reichler also gathered thirty separate, detailed, and reasonably unbiased testimonials as to the efficacy of the manager form of government. In all thirty articles, dealing with cities ranging in population from 31,000 to 450,000, and ranging in location from California to Florida, there is only one that pronounces the manager plan a failure. The remaining twenty-nine consider the form of government successful. Such criticisms as are made provide a guide to the pitfalls which may be expected when the plan is adopted, and to the ways of avoiding them.

There has been only one similar study made, and that was done at great expense by expert governmental researchers who spent several months in the field. The *Herald-Statesman* series differs from this work in that it cost, at most, a few dollars to produce, and required a few weeks to assemble. More important, it approximates the judgment of citizens within manager cities—of those, in short, whom local government is meant to serve.¹

¹Summary sentences from each article in the series are quoted in an addendum on page 161 of this issue of the REVIEW. The National Municipal League deemed the *Herald-Statesman* series so valuable

The *Herald-Statesman's* next venture in political education occurred when the first city council was to be elected under the new system—November 1939. The city was faced with more problems than are usually found in connection with an ordinary election. First, it was the first council under the new plan, and thus could be responsible for giving the infant form of government either a firm foundation or an early grave. Second, proportional representation, commonly calumniated by the term “complicated,” was to be used for the first time. Third, one of the most popular leaders of the pro-city manager forces, Mrs. Edith Welty, who was a candidate for council, had attracted the opposition candidacy of a Mrs. Elizabeth Weldy—and the P. R. ballot is alphabetically arranged.

AID TO GOOD GOVERNMENT

According to George H. Hallett, Jr., elections expert, the result of this difficult election was a gratifyingly large total vote, and a “remarkably” small percentage of invalid ballots. Mrs. Welty was elected, while Mrs. Weldy was not. And the “carefully planned and intensive educational work done by the *Herald-Statesman*,” says Mr. Hallett,² was at least partly responsible.

Mr. Reichler's interest in the council-manager plan did not end when the plan was at last installed.

that it has also secured permission to reproduce the articles exactly as they appeared in the newspaper and to offer them free, for republication, to newspaper editors, and at a small charge to others.

²NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, January 1940, p. 68.

Rather, he has been demonstrating that perhaps he has found the answer to that common complaint of newspapermen in city manager cities, and of city managers themselves, that good government is not dramatic. “When things are efficient and going well, what is there to write about?” they lament. “Then citizens lose interest and the field is open for hostile politicians to seize control of the council while ‘good’ citizens are looking the other way.”

But in Yonkers, from the day that Manager Raymond J. Whitney took office, the *Herald-Statesman* has been “playing up” good government in eight column streamer headlines. Hardly an official act of the manager has been considered too technical or too unimportant to be given attention by the newspaper.

The *Herald-Statesman* even made “copy” of a bond interest rate, which is something practically unheard of in the annals of orthodox journalism. On January 5 an eight-column double headline proclaimed “FIRST MANAGER LOAN FLOATED AT LOWEST COST IN HISTORY.” The story begins, dramatically, “Indicating confidence in Yonkers’ city manager administration, New York bankers, who balked at making any loan in the final weeks of the Loehr administration, today lent the city \$2,000,000 at the lowest interest charge in Yonkers’ history.”

A summary of the *Herald-Statesman's* adventures in political education is impressive. Within the past thirteen months, it appears, this suburban newspaper has made a small informational feature pay big circulation dividends, originated a

new technique for gathering the facts about governmental experiences, brought together a unique fund of information which renews proof of

the success of the council-manager plan, and—made a new form of government about the most dramatic thing that's ever happened in town.

Excerpts from Yonkers Herald-Statesman Articles on the Manager Plan

W. Blount Darden, Editor, **Portsmouth (Va.) Star**: "The day of miracles has not passed! They are being performed with regularity in the city of Portsmouth, Virginia, under the city manager form of government."

Robert L. Plummer, **Wheeling (W. Va.) Intelligencer**: "Wheeling has achieved the lowest tax rate in the United States—\$1.05 per \$100 of assessed valuation—under city manager government. Wheeling has not yet reached the millenium. But let the record speak for itself."

Kirk Ringkamp, **Trenton (N. J.) Times**: "Politics, a staggering debt heritage, huge relief expenditures, a self-exploiting council and a temperamental city manager proved fatal to city manager government in New Jersey's capital city. In the face of this situation the council-manager régime gave the city some real achievements."

Harold W. Hartl, **Saginaw (Mich.) News**: "The voters of Saginaw are well satisfied with their government."

Jeanne Bellamy, **Miami (Fla.) Herald**: "There is a strong conviction [among voters] the present system is ideal if allowed to function as intended."

Barry Bishop, **Dallas (Tex.) Morning News**: "Dallas has made

much progress in recent years, while taxes have been kept low."

Harold W. Sanford, Editor, **Rochester (N. Y.) Democrat and Chronicle**: "Looking back over the years since a civic uprising put the charter into effect, many benefits can be discerned which are directly chargeable to the plan."

C. B. Moody, **Pasadena (Calif.) Star-News**: "Largely because of the adoption of city manager government, more progress has been made in Pasadena in the past eighteen years than was accomplished during the preceding thirty-five years."

Fred B. Wachs, General Manager, **Lexington (Ky.) Herald**: "Even under present conditions the standard of performance is higher than it would be under either the old aldermanic form or the more recent commission setup."

E. D. Alexander, **Fort Worth (Texas) Star-Telegram**: "Fort Worth has grown and prospered under city manager government during the past fourteen years."

Fred Post, **Amarillo (Tex.) Globe-News**: "Amarillo's city manager government is operated on the basic principle of drawing the least possible amount of taxes from the people consistent with the demand for municipal services."

Harold R. Gerace, **Flint (Mich.) Journal**: "It is a reasonably certain

belief in Flint that the government is progressing, is adjusting itself to special circumstances as they arise, and that its permanence will not be seriously shaken."

Ralph M. Turner, **Schenectady (N. Y.) City Hall Reporter**: "It may be said Schenectady today provides more services—more benefits, more control, more regulation, more planning—than at any time in its history."

Judd J. Robbins, **Pontiac (Mich.) Daily Press**: "After what seems to have been a full trial of commission-manager government, Pontiac citizens seem satisfied. The city has made substantial progress in spite of adverse business conditions."

Jack Gould, **Port Arthur (Tex.) News**: "Installed in 1932, city manager government has worked well in the city financially, but it has fared poorly 'politically'."

Calvin D. Myers, Editor, **Newburgh (N. Y.) News**: "Newburghers, celebrating their twenty-fifth year under city manager government in 1940, would no more consider relinquishing manager government than trading their motor-cars for horses and buggies."

Edgar C. Hanford, **Springfield (Ohio) Daily News**: "It is the belief of a large majority of local citizens that Springfield has 'progressed materially under the commission-manager form of government, and that the advantages of this form of government considerably outweigh its disadvantages.'"

William O. Dapping, Managing Editor, **Auburn (N. Y.) Citizen-Advertiser**: "Statistical records of

the State Conference of Mayors show the city has made remarkable strides forward since adoption of city manager government."

Louis T. Hamlett, **Wichita Falls (Texas) Daily Times**: "Not one anti-city manager candidate appeared at the last municipal election in April!"

Eldorous Dayton, **New Rochelle (N. Y.) Standard-Star**: "Both city managers serving New Rochelle have been economy-minded."

M. N. Squires, **Bay City (Mich.) Times**: "The city manager government has curbed abuses of the former ward system and its aldermanic control."

Robert G. Sewell, **Watertown (N. Y.) Times**: "Sound financing, establishment of a municipal power plant to light city streets and public buildings and provisions for adequate services during the depression years, without boosting taxes sky high, have served to make city manager more strongly entrenched in Watertown in its twentieth year than in its fifth or its tenth."

Steve Murdock, **San Jose (Calif.) Mercury-Herald**: "Energetic, white-haired Clarence B. Goodwin last month completed nineteen years as city manager of San Jose—nearly two decades of undeniable municipal progress."

William R. Mathews, Editor and Publisher, **Tucson (Ariz.) Daily Star**: "Tucson has had a municipal administration that would match the best in the country."

Clayton A. Leiter, **Hamilton (Ohio) Journal-News**: "City manager government has been the salva-

tion of Hamilton, a city which owns and operates utilities."

T. T. Hunt, Beaumont (Tex.) Enterprise: "This triple-check style was, and has remained, with few exceptions, unattractive to politicians."

George F. Jenks, Toledo (Ohio) Blade: "The shoddy, down-at-the-heels appearance that marked the city in 1935 has disappeared. Fire, police, street, garbage, and other city divisions have been re-equipped and gaps in personnel have been filled. Toledo's taxpayers are getting their money's worth in service."

Virginus Dabney, Editor Richmond (Va.) Times Dispatch (writing on Henrico County): "Since its adoption in 1933, the plan has been under heavy fire from disgruntled political elements despite the great improvements it has made with respect to economy, efficiency

and service under County Manager W. F. Day."

William H. Hessler, Chief Editorial Writer, Cincinnati (Ohio)

Enquirer: "The new regime has saved the city a total of \$19,000,000 in gas and electric costs. It has cut fire losses by 50 per cent. It has brought the tax rate down until it is one of the lowest in the entire country for cities of comparable size. This has been done while paying off each year the debts piled up by the old corrupt administration before 1925."

Arthur B. Waugh, Associate Editor, Sacramento (Calif.) Bee: "The city manager form of government in Sacramento has been tested in the laboratory of experience for nearly nineteen years, and the answer is that it has provided the best government yet devised for American cities."

LEAGUE'S BUSINESS

(Continued from page 151)

York. Field work on the survey was begun in the late summer of 1939. The report is eight hundred typed pages in length. Staff members included:

Director: Howard P. Jones

Assessment: Cuthbert E. Reeves, consulting engineer of Buffalo, New York

Paul D. Smith of the Rochester, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research

Public Safety: Robert M. Goodrich, director of the Providence Bureau of Governmental Research

Police: L. S. Timmerman of the Institute of Public Administration

Fire: Frank C. Charlesworth, fire chief of Providence, Rhode Island

F. A. Murray, fire chief of Teaneck, New Jersey

Roberts Chickering, Indiana University

Other Bureaus: Cuthbert E. Reeves

Public Welfare: T. Lester Swander, director of Corpus Christi, Texas, Community Chest and Council

Miriam Roher, National Municipal League

Public Works: W. Earl Weller, director of the Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research

Recreation: Jay B. Nash, professor of physical education at New York University

Earl Kauffman, Jr., School of Education, New York University

Education: Director: John W. Withers, former dean of the School of Education of New York University

Kenosha Citizens in Action

Civic Council, representing all groups in the community, acts as sounding board for "the voice of the people"; has made city administration responsive to public will.

By WILLIAM C. WICHMAN
Northwestern University

AMERICAN cities, under the stress of a continuing economic depression, and faced with popular demands for more public services without increased burdens on the taxpayers, are recognizing more and more the need for citizens' advisory councils to collectively represent the people in their relations with the governments responsible to their will. Promotion of such councils, in fact, is one phase of the activities carried on by the National Municipal League. Because of its early establishment and continuous usefulness over a long period of time, the Civic Council of Kenosha, Wisconsin, presents an experience of unusual significance in the story of organizations of this type.

The Kenosha Civic Council, representing seventy-four civic organizations, has been actively functioning for sixteen years with a beneficial influence which has long since removed it from the realm of experimentation. Principles have been evolved from that experience that should prove helpful to parallel movements contemplated in other cities—movements delayed at their inception from lack of precedent to follow.

Other civic councils have been established, but this one is different. It was not organized as a temporary "reform" body in order to accomplish some change such as the adop-

tion of a city manager charter, or to clean up a corrupt city. It is not a "good government" party, dedicated to the task of getting good men into council. It is not a booster club, endorsing everything done by Kenosha. Neither is it a vigilante group, critical of the government and on the alert for mistakes. It is rather a permanent organization, dedicated to the purpose of unifying all groups interested in the civic betterment of the city of Kenosha through coördination of efforts, fact-finding, forum discussions, digesting of proposals, adoption of programs of action, education, and coöperation with public authorities. Its influence is real.

On December 10, 1923, less than a year after Kenosha had adopted city manager government, Jessel S. Whyte called a meeting of the civic committees of local organizations. Whyte, an industrialist and commander of the American Legion post, wanted to coördinate the efforts of various groups sponsoring public movements, to sift out those with merit, and to crystallize public opinion behind them. Sixteen organizations responded to the call, a favorable discussion ensued, and the outgrowth was the Civic Council. By the following April twenty-two organizations had sent duly elected delegates, a constitution had been adopted, an election of officers and

executive committee held, and the Civic Council rolled into action.

Its first big job was participation in the Wisconsin Better Cities Contest. The Wisconsin Conference of Social Work had devised an elaborate scheme for rating cities on the basis of detailed reports from the cities. The Kenosha Civic Council undertook to compile the report for Kenosha, divided itself into fourteen committees, and went to work. As a result, Kenosha not only won the contest and was adjudged the best city in Wisconsin, but it had a rating twice as high as its nearest competitor.

ORGANIZATION OF COUNCIL

While the winning of this contest was due to conditions already existing in the city as a whole, the organization of the newly-created Civic Council lent itself to the compilation of the type of report required. That organization, except for changes in personnel, is set up now much the same as it was in 1924. Any organization whose purpose is to promote the welfare of Kenosha can petition for membership and, if admitted by the council, is entitled to send two delegates to the monthly meetings. The manner of selection and tenure of delegates is left to the determination of the respective groups.

Provision also is made for delegates-at-large, not to exceed 20 per cent of the regular membership of the Civic Council, and elected for one year by unanimous vote of its executive committee and two-thirds of the members present at a regular meeting. The executive committee is elected annually by the members, and

is composed of six men and three women. This committee, in turn, selects annually a president, a vice president, and a secretary-treasurer. It conducts business between monthly sessions, but the president must call a special meeting of the council if seven members petition for one.

A member organization can be expelled if it has no delegate present for two consecutive meetings without satisfactory reason. Member organizations can resign, but can petition for membership again only after a lapse of one year. The council is self-supporting and independent of the city administration or any of the member organizations. Dues are one dollar per organization, with a maximum yearly contribution of ten dollars permissible.

The Civic Council, then, is loosely organized and democratically constituted, but with sufficient power to insure uninterrupted operation.

In a large measure the value of the Civic Council depends upon the extent to which its member organizations include all popular elements. It is truly representative in that practically every group of any size is included—civic, patriotic, labor, women's, commercial, industrial, fraternal, and service organizations. As City Manager Laughlin states: "The Kenosha Civic Council is a decided asset to the community because it increases interest in community affairs and promotes thinking and study on local governmental affairs; and since its membership reaches such a large number and extends to practically all professions, trades, and occupations, it offers an exceptional opportunity

for city-wide education in civic matters."

ALL GROUPS INCLUDED

E. F. Marlatt, editor of the *Kenosha Evening News*, also stresses the inclusiveness of its membership, being of the opinion that: "It is so constituted as to give a cross section of the industrial and civic welfare of Kenosha and therefore the decisions which it reaches can be taken as representative of the thought of the entire citizen body."

Thus all opinions bear out the contention of the man who originally conceived the idea, Jessel S. Whyte, that: "The fact that the Kenosha Civic Council is made up of delegates from all civic organizations, both men and women, makes it a very good clearing house for civic matters which are sponsored by the individual organization."

A mere glance at the list of seventy-four members indicates the basis for this unanimity of opinion. To mention a few shows wide diversity of interests: American Legion, Advancement Association, Business and Professional Women's Club, Kiwanis Club, Retail Food Dealers, Rotary Club, Manufacturers Association, fourteen labor unions and the Trades and Labor Council, Catholic Junior League, Jewish Aid Society, Italian-American Society, German-American Home, Slovak Catholic Sokol Organization, College Club, Federation of Church Women, BPOE, Insurance Agents Association, County Bar Association, Dental Society, Historical Society, Medical Society, League of Women Voters, Education Association, Knights of Columbus, Minis-

terial Association, Parent-Teachers Council, Real Estate Board, St. Thomas Parent-Teachers, Boy Scouts Council, Girl Scouts Council, and the WCTU are represented. The Civic Council always has attempted to extend its membership, so that no large section of the people is without representation somewhere among the member organizations at the present time.

The best evidence of the usefulness of the Civic Council would be a listing of the scores of proposals made, discussions and studies carried on, and the action secured during the past sixteen years, but space permits mention of only a few. Participation in the Better Cities contest, of course, is the best example of a report brought out on the strength of a comprehensive fact-finding investigation.

The Civic Council was not satisfied with winning the contest for, although Kenosha rated high in all other phases of municipal development, she was adjudged deficient in town-county relations. Nat Frame, director of the Agricultural Extension of the University of West Virginia, in judging this aspect of the contest, said that Kenosha needed to recognize the existence of rural people from the standpoint of recreation, education, community interest, etc., and should have as much interest in developing these as she had her rural trade. In other words, Kenosha should be a service station, rendering specialized services for her rural neighbors.

The Civic Council has made sustained efforts to improve this phase of community development. The

results speak for themselves. A few of the many measures helping to better rural-urban relations are: an annual banquet by the Chamber of Commerce, a Retail Merchants Association good-will tour, an annual Rotary Club dinner with entertainment and dancing, American Legion visits to outlying posts, rural library service, athletic meets through co-operation between city and county recreation departments, annual meeting of the Milk Producers' Association with the Rotary Club, invitation to Rotary Club meetings to pastors of rural churches and 4-H Club members, and similar functions by other clubs. This is illustrative of the informal way in which the Civic Council influences civic betterment. Often the council itself does not sponsor the action, but a delegate gets an idea from the discussions and makes a proposal before his particular organization. Thus the action is often decentralized, but the Civic Council tends to integrate the various measures into a unified program.

CITY ADMINISTRATION HELPED

The Civic Council has proved very helpful to the City Council and the administrative departments. According to Manager Laughlin: "The administration considers the Civic Council to be an excellent medium for ascertaining public opinion on vital questions, by reason of the fact that delegates from practically all civic, fraternal, and labor organizations in the city have representation and because of the fact that it is thus possible to secure widespread discussion and determination of public opinion on matters before action

is taken by the City Council. The City Council on many occasions has approved recommendations and enacted beneficial legislation proposed by the Kenosha Civic Council."

On the municipal level, as well as on the national, democracy means that the government must carry out the will of the people, but popular opinion is hard to find among a vast accumulation of heterogeneous people. Government is often at a loss to find the common interest and to determine the appropriate means to promote that public interest. The Civic Council in Kenosha, by its careful discussion of questions in its own meetings, through committees, and by its member organizations, usually comes out with a proposal that reflects the general will as closely as possible in our complex society. The city administration and City Council naturally give great weight to its determinations, for they carry the support of the popular governors.

Lord Bryce once wrote that the chief obstacle to popular government was the difficulty of ascertaining public opinion, which he called "that great compound of folly, weakness, prejudice, wrong feeling, right feeling, obstinacy, and newspaper paragraphs." The Civic Council enables public officials charged with promoting the public interest to determine what the public interest is with some degree of accuracy. Conflicting interests find common ground in Civic Council meetings, and public officials can act on this common ground.

To cite two examples, Council acted on the proposals of the Civic Council in regard to street naming and ward redistricting. The Civic

Council, after an extensive study and canvassing of popular opinion, proposed a new system of naming and numbering streets to remove the confusion of the existing setup. Another survey revealed inequality among precincts and wards, insufficient voting facilities, and need for further divisions. A proposal was made to change the plan considerably. In both cases, the City Council accepted the findings of the Civic Council and passed the legislation necessary to put the changes into effect. These two reforms are important, because they represent the type of action that is politically dangerous for an elective body to tackle.

FORUM MEETINGS HELD

The educational value of the Civic Council cannot be overestimated. As Editor Marlatt says: "It has been particularly helpful in recent years by presenting 'town meetings' which have discussed many subjects of civic interest and have contributed much to informing the public of existing situations of many problems." At each of its monthly meetings a speaker is called in to discuss some phase of municipal affairs, to the end that the council and its member organizations may gain information from many sources, have an opportunity to discuss the information presented, and get ideas leading to beneficial action in Kenosha. Civic interest in public affairs is awakened in this way, serving a necessary but often lacking element in democratic government.

A partial list of subjects discussed would include civil service, trailer camps, museum centers, mental hy-

giene, school patrols, nursing, WPA, AAA, food adulteration, vocational schools, libraries, parks, coast guard, public welfare, housing, postal service, traffic safety, and others too numerous to mention. Few subjects of vital public interest fail to receive expert consideration at some time or other. The discussions are of value beyond the floor of Civic Council through reports of delegates to their respective organizations and through newspaper accounts of meetings.

Another important educational activity of the Civic Council is its support of several movements to educate new citizens, whether naturalized or young people reaching their majority, in their duty to vote intelligently. Moreover, the council has been effective, through member organizations and concentrated campaigns, in getting out larger percentages of voters to the polls, thus making democratic government more real in Kenosha. Special effort is made to get voters to the polls for referendum issues.

At other times, the Civic Council has been instrumental in securing direct action by the people on fundamental changes. An outstanding example is the revision of the Kenosha School Board which formerly consisted of eighteen members elected from wards. The board itself invited the Civic Council to make a study of the situation. The council, through its committees, comprehensively surveyed the organization of schools in other cities and came to the conclusion that the school system in Kenosha could be administered most efficiently by a board of seven members elected at large. It conducted a campaign of education and informa-

tion through member organizations and the press. A referendum was initiated by petition, and the seven-member board was voted into operation by the electorate. It is interesting to note that, in this case, the request came from the School Board, a majority of whose members would lose their positions as a result of the change. Again, a body without the scope, organization, and support of the Civic Council could not have crystallized public opinion behind such a far-reaching reform.

Activities of the various member organizations were further coordinated in 1936 through cooperation with the Simmons Memorial Library. The library maintains a bulletin board for all information concerning the programs of the member organizations. In this way, the public is informed of meeting places, dates, and special programs of the organizations, and conflicts are avoided.

MOVEMENTS SUPPORTED

Although the Civic Council is cautious in endorsing any movement, it does throw its support behind movements that are deemed to be of real benefit to the community. Often support merely takes the form of a resolution favoring the program of some member organization. Sometimes the Civic Council takes over sponsorship of a movement proposed by one of the delegates. Sometimes a committee is appointed to cooperate with a member organization on some activity. In every case the Civic Council carefully considers the proposal before declaring its approval, and then gives the united support that accrues from its wide-

spread membership. As a result, the number of good causes failing because of half-hearted support is relatively small.

Special interests have been advanced by the Civic Council whenever their requests are in keeping with the general welfare. Discriminatory freight rates on coal shipped to industries in Kenosha were removed. Citizens were protected from stray dogs. Numerous suggestions regularly are made to the Safety Council, and many are made the basis of action. The council sponsored a movement for establishment of a branch library, initiated a plan to plough vacant lots and plant gardens, investigated the method of establishing gas and electric rates, secured the support of the Park Department and Public Works Department in the employment, wherever possible, of men on relief on useful public works, recommended a street tree ordinance which was incorporated in the park code, reduced traffic hazards by securing better unloading conditions around chain stores. These are only a handful of the great number of improvements accomplished.

The Civic Council once conducted a regular series of classes on county government. Professor Ford MacGregor, of the University of Wisconsin, was brought in to discuss various phases of county government with special emphasis on the overlapping of governmental and taxing units. Although its resources are limited by the ten-dollar restriction on contributions and by the low dues of one dollar, the Civic Council was able to finance this series of lectures from the accumulated interest on the

\$1,000 prize from the Better Cities contest. Incidentally, the income of the council averages about three dollars per organization per year, and the cash surplus on April 30, 1939, was \$240.51. No support is solicited from the city government, except use of the City Council chamber and the ex-officio services of the city engineer, who has acted as secretary-treasurer ever since the founding of the Civic Council.

COUNTY MATTERS CONSIDERED

On several occasions the Civic Council activities have gone beyond the city limits of Kenosha. Besides the measures already mentioned in regard to rural-urban relations, the Civic Council appointed a committee to coöperate with the county board in the matter of county zoning. It endorsed the county board's action in consolidating standing committees.

In state affairs, too, as they pertain to municipalities, the Civic Council has a voice. It assisted passage by the state legislature of clarifying measures in regard to signatures on petitions for a referendum to change the form of municipal government. It requested the assembly to broaden the scope of county planning to permit close supervision of territory near the city but outside its jurisdiction. It actively promoted before the assembly the "Laughlin plan" of installment taxpaying. It advised local members of the legislature of its approval of a pending habitual criminals act. In 1936 a legislative committee was appointed to report to the Civic Council on legislation of interest to the community. Incidentally, a state legis-

lator is a member of the Civic Council and takes an active part in its deliberations.

In this connection it is important to note that the Civic Council is completely nonpartisan. It refuses to admit to membership any organization political in nature. Its activities are carried on independently of any party connection. It does not express its favor or disfavor of candidates for the City Council. It has even gone so far as to vote against the holding of an essay contest on the subject, "Why City Manager Government Is Best," because it might be construed as partisan.

There is no hesitancy in proposing to the administrative departments that they remedy a matter which the council considers an undesirable condition. In fact, Robert M. Smith, as secretary of the Civic Council, sometimes has to record a complaint to the city engineer. As city engineer he adjusts the complaint and reports back to himself as secretary of the council. On the other hand, the council freely commends departments for meritorious service. Police, fire, health, recreation, and other departments have received special letters voicing the approval of the Civic Council for activities that they have furthered.

The Civic Council apparently side-steps no issues, however controversial they may be. A careful reading of the minutes of both the council and its executive committee indicates that practically every type of question has been brought up, that all types of people have been affected by their decisions, and that all proposals have received consideration

and only a few have been tabled or lost in executive committee. Those rare cases have been extremely deadly. The last one remembered by Secretary Smith was a motion that the council go on record as favoring one side in the Allen-A labor strike. The motion was ruled out of order.

Democratic principles underlie all procedure. Members are democratically appointed to the council. Any delegate can make a proposal on the floor, and discussion is not restricted. Organizations have equal voting strength, and the limitation on contributions makes the council obligated to no one. A printed copy of the minutes is mailed to each member. A majority of delegates constitutes a quorum, but proposed amendments to the constitution must be read at two successive meetings before a vote is taken, and reported in the minutes of the first meeting.

COMMITTEE SELECTION

Most important to the democratic functioning of the council is the method of selecting committees. When the council votes to create a committee the president appoints its members, and the list is recorded in the minutes sent to all members. In making appointments the president attempts to distribute them among the delegates of as many organizations as possible, and to provide the widest diversity of opinion and experience on each particular question. To illustrate, a Youth Committee of five was recently appointed to find from youth what it needs in the way of recreation at the high school and post high school ages. It was composed of a past president of the

ministerial union, a vigorous organizer and speaker; a past executive of the Red Cross, mother, and housewife; a representative of the WCTU and other movements; a policewoman trained in social work, and secretary of the local coordinating council of professional social agencies; and a leading PTA executive, mother, and wife of a junior high school principal. Party affiliation is never a consideration. Although no explicit provision is made for minority reports from committees, opportunity always is given for disagreement on the floor of meetings and, if opinion is too closely divided to permit a definite majority opinion, the report is stated as an alternative.

Several factors in the city of Kenosha have contributed to the success of the Civic Council. As Whyte himself says: "Of course, the fact that Kenosha has a city manager form of government in my opinion makes it easier for the Civic Council to function inasmuch as there are no partisan politics whatsoever in the city government." Absence of partisanship in elections and in City Council proceedings certainly removes a possible obstacle to the effectiveness of a citizens' council with non-partisan objectives.

The Better Cities contest showed Kenosha to be advanced beyond other cities in the development of municipal functions. Consequently, the Civic Council was not beset by many of the causes for agitation in other cities, as is indicated by the following quotations from the judges of the contest. Dr. W. S. Deffenbaugh, chief of the City School Division, United States Bureau of Edu-

cation, wrote: "Educational work in Kenosha has many excellent and satisfactory phases." Joseph L. Wheeler, librarian, of Youngstown, Ohio, said: "... it [Kenosha] presents features which all library workers will study with enthusiasm." A group of ministers and professors stated that the report of religion itself is "a unique achievement and sets a new standard for religious survey work done by laymen." J. R. Bat-schelor, field director of the American Playground and Recreation Association, wrote: "Kenosha has a wonderful program of community recreation, in some respects probably unexcelled anywhere in America."

Professor Stewart Scrimshaw, Marquette University, said of industrial development: "There is little to be said except in praise . . ."; and speaking of recreational opportunities in relation to industry, he said: "One knowing the general conditions to be found throughout America is utterly amazed at their development in Kenosha." Myron Downs, chief planner of Toledo, Ohio, said that Kenosha was fortunate to have a city planner, enforcement of a planning ordinance, and men with sufficient interest in the fundamentals of community well-being to furnish leadership in all matters on this question.

Lastly Luther Gulick found that council-manager government in Kenosha had made great and lasting progress, with capable executives, adequate administrative procedures, extensive public services and improvements, with very few functions below standard. Thus, it is evident that the Civic Council had a good city to start with. The same type

of organization might fail in a corrupt, poorly organized and administered city, where a crusading type of reform party must first clean house, as the charter party did for Cincinnati in the 1920's. The Kenosha type of council serves better gradually and continuously to study, educate, and advise.

LEADERS HAVE VISION

Finally, leadership is essential in a loose organization of this kind more than anywhere else, and Kenosha has been fortunate in having capable leadership. The several presidents of the Civic Council have brought seasoned judgment, diplomacy, and social vision to their task. The tireless energy of Secretary Smith, who has provided the driving force of the council since he took down the minutes of the first meeting in December 1923, cannot be overlooked or overestimated.

While these conditions have favored the progress of the Civic Council, real success has been due to its own pioneering initiative. After all, it had no precedent to follow, and other cities with equal facilities have no comparable organization. Despite some advantages, Kenosha is a typical American city, with typical problems. All religions are represented, as well as races. National groups include, English, German, Irish, Italian, Polish, Lithuanian, and Russian. A list of the names of Civic Council delegates, in fact, might bear similarity to the roster of the League of Nations. The depression hit Kenosha hard. Her percentage of unemployed was the largest in Wisconsin, relief loads have been

terrific, and strikes plentiful. Economy moves found services curtailed. That the Civic Council could meet all of these fundamental problems of an industrial community is ample testimony of its permanent strength.

The purpose of the Civic Council, as stated in its constitution, is to "... coördinate civic effort, bring together information, digest proposals, and present programs to make more effective the coöperation of organizations engaged in civic development." Less than two years after its establishment, Luther Gulick said: "In Kenosha's Civic Council, the city has an authoritative medium through which the will of the citizens at large can be accurately reflected." In 1939, after sixteen years of operation and on the tenth anniversary of a world-wide economic depression, an appraisal of the Civic Council still is well represented by the opinion of the city manager that "... it has secured close harmony and unity among the various organizations of the city to the end that city-wide movements of sound civic nature have been drafted in an intelligent and systematic manner."

From its experience, Kenosha has set down the following principles that

must be followed to make a civic council effective:

1. Include all groups genuinely interested in civic welfare;
2. Avoid partisan activities;
3. Coöperate with government, do not fight it;
4. Hold public meetings and determine policy democratically;
5. Provide written reports of all major activities, detailing both sides of a controversial issue;
6. Spread committee appointments;
7. Act as a fact-finding body, gathering a convincing array of facts;
8. Avoid small issues, saving energy for larger objectives;
9. Welcome proposals from delegates and public;
10. Announce definite programs with special features;
11. Have friendly press relations, and provide a prolific source of news;
12. Insure that the general community welfare shall govern all considerations;
13. Test proposals as to their probable long-time effect—five to ten years.

These principles have worked in Kenosha. At least one heterogeneous body of people has found a way to define that vague quantity, "the public mind," to the end that government has been made more responsive to the will of the public to whom it is legally responsible. Maybe this is an answer to the prosaic question, "How to make democracy work?"

Communities Settle Their Labor Problems

Toledo Industrial Peace Board pioneers in solution of industrial conflicts by the city hall; other cities follow Toledo's lead.

By WILLIAM L. NUNN
University of Newark

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the first of two articles on municipal industrial peace boards. The second, on the Labor Relations Board of Newark, New Jersey, will appear in the April issue of the REVIEW.

THE Toledo (Ohio) Industrial Peace Board had its genesis in the series of strikes prior to June 1935, when, according to Edward F. McGrady, who at that time was assistant secretary of the United States Department of Labor, “. . . pent-up emotions burst loose and disorder took place . . . which put Toledo on the front pages of the newspapers of the nation in a very adverse light.”¹

In the words of Carlton K. Matson, editor of the *Toledo News-Bee*, “Mr. McGrady was no doubt tired of being called from Washington to act as doctor to some aggravated industrial labor cases . . . [but he also] had gained a vision of some industrial relations pioneering which the Toledo community might undertake which would hold the possibility of converting the community's bad experience and reputation into an asset for itself, and possibly for the nation.”²

¹Quoted from an inter-office memorandum of the United States Department of Labor. No date, but probably written by Mr. McGrady in the early spring of 1935, while the Toledo Plan was being formulated.

²“Toledo's Plan to End Strikes,” by

In the latter part of June 1935, after the widely publicized power workers' strike had been settled, Mr. McGrady proposed to the editors of the three Toledo newspapers that the citizens create a local agency for maintaining industrial peace within the city. To Mr. McGrady the city needed “a composite forum representing the community to which either side can bring their grievances and which shall be of such repute and dignity that much trouble can be avoided at once and ready access given to the very heads of industries with branches in Toledo whenever the seriousness of the case suggests it.”³

Accordingly, a group of citizens, including trade union officials, representatives of management, city officials, and newspaper editors, were brought into the formulative stage of the plan. Mr. McGrady assigned Ralph A. Lind, who at the time was in Cleveland as director of the Eighth District Labor Relations Board of the NRA, to Toledo as impartial chairman of the peace board which he was to round off and make into an effective organization.

Carlton K. Matson, *The Nation's Business*, July 1936.

³Quoted from an inter-office memorandum of the United States Department of Labor.

By the time the board had been formed and its first meeting held in the first week of September, Mr. Lind had participated in the settlement of several minor labor difficulties and considerable confidence was publicly voiced in the success of the plan.

The board when finally formed was made up of eighteen citizens; five of these were nominated by the Central Labor Union (A. F. of L.) to represent labor, five were nominated by the Toledo Chamber of Commerce to represent management, and the remaining eight were selected by Mr. McGrady and Mr. Lind to represent the public. The public representatives included a priest, a rabbi, a merchant, two judges, the county relief administrator, and two lawyers. The first director of the Board was L. S. Harding, who was assigned by Mr. McGrady from the United States Department of Labor to this task.

Until March of 1936 the board continued to function without official recognition and support from the city. During this time its policies and procedures were slowly worked out largely on a trial and error basis. The board had no power, other than the power of group persuasion and the prestige and good will of its members. It afforded a round table where the problem at issue could be discussed by the participants in the controversy in a neutral setting with either the director of the board or a panel of board members present for the purpose of making helpful suggestions.

The board did not vote or otherwise determine the rightness or wrongness of either party in such a

conflict, or indeed the rightness or wrongness of the principles of the open and closed shop, picketing, boycotting, etc. It is somewhat significant that the fear of gaining ill will caused the board and its members to refrain from acting as arbitrators in industrial conflicts and to merely assist when requested by both parties in setting up the necessary machinery of arbitration.

Although some criticism and more skepticism was directed at the board, the board was given credit for making "... industrial relations in Toledo ... vastly better in 1936 than they were in 1935. . . ."²

BOARD BECOMES OFFICIAL

Support from labor groups, the Chamber of Commerce, and from the public caused the city of Toledo to take over officially the financial and administrative responsibility of the Toledo Industrial Peace Board in April 1936. The city ordinance, which was unanimously passed by the city council, called for the assumption as a municipal activity at public expense of the peace board as it was at the time. The ordinance authorized the employment of a full-time director and a full-time office secretary.⁴ Mr. McGrady and Mr. Lind recommended to the members of the board the employment of Edwin Ruffin, a local newspaperman, as director of the board. The appointment was made.

Until this action by the city of Toledo, the board had been in a peculiar sense the creation of Mr. McGrady who believed that "most labor

⁴Ordinance No. 76-36, passed March 30, 1936.

troubles start as community problems," and who saw in the Toledo board an opportunity to demonstrate that local industrial disputes could be settled in local communities satisfactorily by local persons.⁵ Small wonder that General Hugh S. Johnson, while WPA administrator in New York City, stated that Mr. McGrady was proposing for the country what he (McGrady) "modestly calls the *Toledo Plan*."

In the first year of its operation, from July 5, 1935, to July 4, 1936, the board participated in twenty-five industrial disputes, including eight which reached the strike stage and which included a total of more than 11,000 employees. In the second year, it took a hand in fifty-two disputes, which included eighteen strikes but which effected a total of only about 9,500 persons.⁶ For the calendar year 1938 the board handled a total of seventy-four disputes involving more than 12,000 employees. These disputes represented pretty much of a cross section of Toledo's industry and ranged from key industrial concerns, one with 3,000 employees, down to the Jewish second-hand clothing merchant who employed no one but who, because of a mistake in the address given a picket line captain, had his place of business picketed for a few hours one day.

In the summer of 1937 a wide variety of business, professional, and labor leaders had much praise for

the work of the board. Even those who at first seemed sharply critical were not in favor of abolishing it; they merely wanted it to use more or less power on behalf of either unions or employers depending on the prejudices of the critic. More than one statement ended with a belief that Toledo was enjoying the best relations between labor and capital in its history. The city manager, John N. Edy, who was not in Toledo until some months after the board was created but to whom the board at least nominally reports, states: "I preach it all the time. In the beginning we didn't know just what we wanted but we knew that we wanted something. We set up something that looked reasonable. It's working now."⁷

OTHER CITIES INTERESTED

Harassed mayors and municipal officials in an ever larger area, who were rapidly becoming amateur mediators of industrial disputes, began to write letters and to send personal observers to Toledo. Mr. McGrady was asked to speak to the United States Conference of Mayors on the work of the board. Soon other plans came into existence, ranging from the mere appointment of an additional secretary to the mayor, or the selection of public-minded citizens to serve on voluntary panels as mediators of labor disputes, to passage of formal ordinances creating municipal mediation machinery.

The increase in strike activity in all industrial centers since 1933 has

⁵Interview with Max Stern, Scripps-Howard staff writer, *The Pittsburgh Press*, August 29, 1937.

⁶Letter to John N. Edy, city manager of Toledo, from Edmund Ruffin, director of the Toledo Industrial Peace Board, dated July 15, 1937.

⁷A series of personal interviews with various persons in Toledo, including Mr. Edy, by the author in the summer of 1937.

followed, as might be expected, the upward swing of the price level, the rise in industrial output, the increase in employment, as well as the encouragement given labor organizations by a sympathetic government as indicated by the inclusion of section 7a in the National Industrial Recovery Act, the passage of the National Labor Relations Act, the public inquiry by the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee into the anti-labor practices on the part of militant employers, and so on.

FEDERAL ACTIVITY

The newer policy on the part of the federal government was to fix minimum wages and maximum hours by statutory legislation and make the actual wage a result of the bargaining process between employers and employees. Obviously, bargaining is possible only between fairly equal contestants and hence the main tenets thus far of the newer legislation have centered around the guarantee to employees of the right to organize trade unions and select representatives for the purpose of bargaining with employers on the going wage and hour standards of particular plants and industries.

But only in the transportation industry does the National Mediation Board as a single agency possess the authority to handle a dispute from beginning to end. The National

Labor Relations Board specifically is enjoined by the act from mediating labor disputes. Its powers are limited to enforcing the provisions of the act itself. Thus the stresses and strains of much of the labor unrest since 1933 fell on the shoulders of the Conciliation Service of the United States Department of Labor which was unprepared for the task. Limited personnel and limited budgets demanded that attention be given only to strikes of major proportions. The few effective state mediation services were likewise limited.

In addition the usual strike results in varied and contradictory demands being made on municipal authorities by the participants in industrial conflicts. The employer wants extra police protection; the union wants the right to picket and demands the assistance of the city in closing the gates to the factory. Merchants fret over loss of payrolls; departments of public welfare are placed between the cross fires of strikers who want relief and taxpayers who frown on relief for strikes; leaders in commerce and industry growl about the "reds" who helped elect the mayor and expect the obvious quid pro quo. In the nature of the case our city halls are involved—with or without the assistance of federal or state mediators. Toledo has found the answer in the Toledo Industrial Peace Board.

American Governors— 1930 to 1940

Decade of the thirties finds state heads regaining their lost leadership with increased administrative power and enhanced political prestige.

By JOHN A. PERKINS
University of Michigan

IN 1933 it was contended that the states as vital units of government were finished, and "that only the federal government could solve our state and national needs." Therefore it was to be expected that the personalities playing major roles on the larger stage of national politics would have the floodlight of publicity cast upon them. The American governors as the outstanding personalities in the states, like the states themselves, seemed for a time of secondary importance.

Now the doctrine of "an indestructible union of indestructible states" has been reasserted and the states will probably continue to function very much as they have in the past. Consequently, interest in the outstanding political personalities in the states is not likely to abate.

Has the calibre of our governors declined while the states have been wandering in the wilderness? While eyes have been focused on the national government's attempts to reorganize, eleven states made reorganization an accomplished fact in the last ten years. This has continued the governors on their march "from figurehead to leader." Twenty-six states have now refashioned themselves in the modern mode. In most instances reorganization has enhanced the governor's political prestige and increased his executive and adminis-

trative power until the holders of such office become worthy of increased study.¹

One hundred and seventy-eight persons have held the high office of governor in our forty-eight states in the last decade.² What has been the political affiliation of those who have been chosen to exercise executive and administrative power of this high order? Of those who have held office during this ten-year period, 107 (or 60 per cent) have been Democrats, sixty-seven Republicans, three Farm Laborites, two independents, and one Progressive. Two governors, William Langer and Philip La Follette, were each elected under two party labels. Of even greater interest than a comparison of the party totals for the decade, however, are the fluctuations between the parties in succeeding elections.

In 1930, of the thirty-four governors elected, twenty were Democrats, thirteen Republicans, and one Farm Laborite. In the year 1932, there

¹Previous studies of the governors have been made in this REVIEW by A. F. MacDonald, "American Governors," vol. 16 (1927), pp. 715-719, and S. R. Solomon, "American Governors Since 1915," vol. 20 (1931), pp. 152-158.

²The information on which this study is based was secured from *Who's Who in America*, *Who's Who in Government*, the state manuals, and by personal correspondence. Some data has been obtained on every governor, but in a very few cases complete information was not available.

were thirty-five governors elected; the Democrats increased their number to twenty-nine at the expense of the Republicans who won in but five states. The one Farm Laborite was reelected. The next congressional year, 1934, saw the Democratic superiority decline to twenty-five; the Republicans elected seven, and the Farm Laborite was joined by a Progressive in a neighboring state. The second presidential year of this study, 1936, produced twenty-eight Democratic governors, four Republicans, and one each of Farm Laborite, Progressive, and independent labels. The year 1938 was marked by Republican ascendancy when for the first time in the decade they elected eighteen governors, two more than their Democratic adversaries. These figures include all states but Virginia and Mississippi which have elections in odd years and have remained Democratic throughout the decade, and New Jersey which has a three-year term. This last state had a Republican executive from 1928 to 1931, a Democrat from 1931 to 1934, a Republican for the next three years, and is finishing the decade with a Democrat.

NATIONAL POLITICS VS. STATE ELECTIONS

The elections in this decade demonstrate that state and local officers are often chosen on national issues. In the presidential year of 1932 there were eleven changes of party from Republican to Democrat. The only exception to this nation-wide trend was Republican Alf Landon's defeat of Democrat Harry Woodring in Kansas. There were Democratic governors in more than three-fourths of the states in 1936. Therefore, it

cannot be expected that in the second presidential election of the decade there would be as many shifts to their column. Even so, three states switched to Democratic governors.

The party out of power in Washington had its greatest successes in gubernatorial elections in congressional years. In 1930 the Republicans lost nine executive chairs to the Democrats. By 1934, when the Republicans were the party-out-of-power, they won three states from the Democrats. In 1938, the last congressional year of the decade, the political pendulum had swung far enough in its course to sweep out twelve Democratic incumbents in favor of Republican candidates.

In this decade the overwhelming influence of presidential choice upon state gubernatorial elections is best illustrated by Michigan. In 1932 the state voted Democratic; in 1934, Republican; in 1936, Democratic; and in 1938, Republican, thus alternating the two political parties every two years.

Only seventeen states remained constant to one party throughout the decade. Those faithful to Democrats were the "Solid South," Montana and Utah in the west, and the Empire State in the east.

Rock-ribbed Vermont and New Hampshire were the only states courted successfully by the Republican party throughout the ten years. California presents an anomaly for it had remained Republican in the years of Democratic triumph, but when the other states were returning to the G.O.P. ranks in 1938, the "golden state" elected a Democrat.

In spite of the fact that these were not years of political calm, forty men

gained successive reelection in their respective states; five secured reelection after one interim election. Three governors served three successive terms, while the honors for being successively elected four times go to Herbert H. Lehman of New York and Wilbur L. Cross of Connecticut. Of course, the record of A. C. Ritchie, Maryland's "permanent governor," is a part of this gubernatorial saga because four of his sixteen years as chief executive were in this decade. T. H. Moodie of North Dakota served the shortest period of any of the governors (twenty-six days). In 1934-35, North Dakota had the unique experience of having four different governors occupy the executive office in a little more than six months.³

It seems that the states prefer to have native sons in the executive mansions for 116 were born in the states they governed. Fifty-five executives became governors of the states to which they migrated. Inasmuch as 53 per cent of these adopted sons were governors of western states, one may conclude that Horace Greeley did not advise in vain. Seven governors were born outside the United States. Three were Canadians by birth, one English, one German, and two Scandinavians.

FROM LITTLE RED SCHOOL TO PH.D.'S

It is significant that 77 per cent of our state executives in these recent years either attended or graduated from colleges whereas in the lush years of the twenties only 64 per cent had been exposed to higher learning.⁴

³R. L. Miller, "The Gubernatorial Controversy in North Dakota," *American Political Science Review*, June 1935, pp. 418-432.

⁴S. R. Solomon, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

Degrees were received by our governors from almost every department in a university: 91 LL.B.'s, 35 A.B.'s, 3 B.C.E.'s, 2 M.D.'s, 2 Ph.D.'s. Governor Stark of Missouri graduated from the United States Naval Academy and Governor Martin of Oregon was a West Point graduate. That these men made the most of their educational opportunities is evidenced by the fact that eleven of them were elected to *Phi Beta Kappa*. High school marked the limit of formal education in twenty-seven instances. Ten governors-to-be took training in business institutes. Five had no formal training other than that given in the little red school house. No doubt, Arkansas' Governor Futrell's reply when asked the extent of his education aptly expresses the feeling of most governors: "I never did complete my education and never will."

Equipped as they were, the governors went out to take their places in the business and professional world. They did not bury their talents and it seems their talents were many. In fact, it is difficult to classify them as to occupations because, like Frank Merriam of California, they might be successively an educator, editor, banker, and realtor. Arranged in the following occupational groupings, the governors fall into these categories:

Vocations of State Governors

Lawyers	88	Editors	2
Merchants	15	Publishers	2
Farmers	12	Clerk	1
Financiers	8	Live Stock	
Manufacturers	8	Auctioneer	1
Educators	6	Army	1
Ranchers	4	Housewife	1
Oil Producers	4	Mining	1
Career Politicians	3	Druggist	1
Nurserymen	3	Manager Farm	
Realtors	3	Coöperative	1
Railroad Men	2	Laborer	1
Physicians	2		

The occupations which seem to lead to the governorship have not changed a great deal in the past thirty years, though lawyers are a little more predominant in this decade. The five occupational classes which produced the largest number of governors from 1900 to 1910 also produced the largest number today and in much the same proportions.⁵ Making allowances for inevitable weaknesses inherent in classification it is evident that our governors are chosen from the able business and professional men of the states.

With a few exceptions, such as Frank Murphy, Henry Horner, and Theodore Green, the governors have been married. The average official family had two children, but in one there were eleven children. Some of the governors are ardent churchmen, and most of them have a church preference. Together they represent fifteen religious faiths.

For the most part it can be said that the governors are "joiners." Former Governor Green of Rhode Island is exemplary, being affiliated with thirty organizations. Starting early in life, seventy-six joined social fraternities at college. Today they hold memberships in recreational, professional, service, fraternal, and patriotic societies. The fraternal organizations attract them to the extent of 228 memberships. Of these affiliations, eighty-seven are held in the Masons, fifty-one in the Elks, and the rest are scattered in virtually all other fraternal orders. Their recreational activities have led governors to join everything from the Circus Saints and Sinners to the exclusive Racquet

Club. In these many organizations the state executives assumed leadership; they have been National Commanders of the American Legion, Exalted Rulers of the Elks, Past Grand Commanders of the Masons, Grand Masters of the Odd Fellows—to mention a few of their honors.

The average age of the governors when they took office was fifty-three. The thirty-one-year-old neophyte, Governor Stassen of Minnesota, was forty-eight years younger than Michigan's octogenarian, Governor Dickinson. Except for C. Ben Ross of Idaho and a few others whose ages are not known, it can be ascertained that nineteen of the governors took office in their thirties, forty-nine in their forties, sixty-five in their fifties, thirty-six in their sixties, four in their seventies.

CAREER POLITICIANS

Although but three of the governors are self-confessed career politicians, only ten of them in the decade of the thirties assumed office without previous political experience. One of the most successful governors, judging by his four successive terms, is Wilbur L. Cross of Connecticut who had no previous political experience. On the other hand, Michigan's Frank D. Fitzgerald had spent more than twenty years in state service before assuming the governorship. He entered the capitol to become successively senate clerk, house proofreader, bill clerk, clerk to the secretary of state, deputy secretary of state, business manager of the highway department, and secretary of state for two terms. The extensive political experience of the governors can best be seen in the table on page 182 giving

⁵A. F. Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 716.

*Political Experience of Governors**National Government*

Presidential Elector	8	Assistant District		Department of Justice	1
Congress	7	Attorney	1	Supervisor of WPA	1
District Attorney	4	Governor General of		Collector of Customs	1
Internal Revenue Bureau	3	Philippines	1	Department of Agri-	1
Envoy Extraordinary	2	U. S. High Commissioner		culture	
National Advisory		to Philippines	1	Federal Trade Com-	
Board of WPA	1	Senator	1	mission	1
Division Chief of In-		Assistant Secretary		State Director of FHA	1
come Tax	1	of Navy	1	Representative at In-	
				ternational Conference	1

State Government

House of Repre-		Deputy	1	Electoral Board	1
sentatives	55	Justice of Supreme		Judge of Court of In-	
Speaker	10	Court	3	dustrial Relations	1
Bill Clerk	1	Board of Education	3	Bridge Inspector	1
Proofreader	1	Engineer	3	Board of Equalization	1
Senate	51	Farm Bureau	3	Board of Irrigation	
Clerk	1	Commissioner of Agri-		Commission	1
Bill Clerk	1	culture	3	Assistant Superinten-	
Page Boy	1	Governor's Council	2	dent of Public	
Reporter	1	Bank Commissioner	2	Instruction	1
Lieutenant-Governor	31	Court Commissioner	2	Commissioner of	
Attorney General	12	Chancellor	2	Forestry	1
Public Utility		Tax Commission	2	Board of Charities and	
Commissioner	8	Police Force	2	Corrections	1
Constitutional Conven-		Railroad Commissioner	2	State Park Board	1
tion	7	Recorder	1	Treasurer	1
Secretary to the		Commissioner of		Corporations Com-	
Governor	6	Motor Vehicles	1	missioner	1
Board of Regents	6	Commissioner on		Clerk of State Land	
Highway Department	5	Securities	1	Office	1
Assistant Attorney		Judge of Appeal Tax		State Institutions Com-	
General	4	Court	1	mission for Public	
Secretary of State	3	Auditor	1	Welfare	1
Clerk	1				

Local Government

<i>County</i>			<i>City</i>	
Attorney	25	Mayor		24
Judge	13	Attorney		22
Assistant Solicitor	2	City Council		14
Treasurer	2	Assistant Attorney		6
Assessor	2	Judge		5
Probate Judge	2	Board of Education		6
Board of Education	2	Commissioners		4
Board of County Commissioners	2	Tax Collector		3
Surveyor	1	Treasurer		2
Sheriff	1	Board of Education Supervisors		2
Tax Collector	1	Welfare Council		1
Engineer	1	City Clerk		1
Register of Probate	1	Engineer		1
Court Commissioner	1	Recorder		1
Agricultural Agent	1	Deputy Clerk		1
Chancellor	1			
Clerk	1			
Magistrate	1			

the office and the number of governors who occupied it.

Whether or not this previous experience is an essential apprenticeship is a matter of individual opinion. Nevertheless, 95 per cent of the executives in this study have held between two and three public offices before becoming governors. There will be general agreement, however, that some types of public service would be of more direct benefit than others in preparing a man for the governorship. For example, those governors having been mayors, city commissioners, or heads of state departments should have profited mightily from their previous administrative experience.

Even more broadly prepared are those who have had the unusual experience of being Governor General of the Philippines or Assistant Secretary of the Navy. Likewise, 151 governors who have previously sat in the legislative chambers of the states should have an improved understanding of the legislative mind and thereby get fuller cooperation from the law-makers. The office which most frequently proved to be the immediate stepping stone to the executive chair was the lieutenant-governorship; this was true in thirty-one cases.

NOT OVERPAID

What induced these 178 men to seek the highest office in the gift of the state is beyond the scope of this study, but the place is not, as James Bryce thought in his time, valued chiefly for its salary.⁶ In South Dakota, for instance, only \$3,000 is paid to the chief executive. The aver-

age salary throughout the United States, however, is \$7,835. The south, the north central, and the pacific sections are typical of this average. The western states fall nearly \$2,000 below this amount, while the states of the eastern seaboard exceed the national average paying \$11,550. The exceptional salaries paid by New York (\$25,000), New Jersey (\$20,000), and Pennsylvania (\$18,000) are largely responsible for the apparent generosity of the east.

One might expect that a meager salary would be compensated by a large state mansion, but there is little evidence of correlation. Fourteen states provide no official residence and five of these are in the low salaried section of the west. The mansions themselves varied in original cost from \$5,000 in South Dakota to \$231,000 in Maryland. Southern states, perhaps because of the demand for southern hospitality, have, on the whole, more elaborate and expensive official residences than the northern or western states. Mississippi, for example, has continued to improve the original dwelling until it is now valued at \$250,000.

Investigation of the governors in times past has revealed that once a man held the governorship, except for a few unusual individuals, he had reached the epitome of his political career.⁷ The governors of the decade under consideration here have not fallen into political oblivion but have been drafted into further governmental service. That the states are the proving ground for federal officials is revealed in the more than thirty instances in which ex-governors of

⁶James Bryce, *American Commonwealth*, vol. I, p. 532.

⁷A. F. Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 718.

the past ten years have entered every major branch of the federal government. Eight have become distinguished senators, several have entered the House, three have served in the Cabinet, one has served as High Commissioner of the Philippines, one was chairman of the Social Security Board, one has been recruited to the United States Supreme Court; and two opposed each other for the presidency. J. G. Winant of New Hampshire is now director of the International Labor Office in Geneva.

Of course, forty-eight of the men here considered are still active governors. It is too soon to predict the political future of the entire 178. A generation must pass before the record can be compiled for the younger men such as Harold Stassen, W. H. Vanderbilt, and A. B. (Happy) Chandler.

No one would today, like Mr. Jay in 1795, exchange the chief justiceship of the United States for the governorship of his state. Though Frank Murphy did quit his important federal post in the Philippines in order

to seek the governorship of Michigan, the trend is plainly in the other direction. Nevertheless, as a consequence of reorganization in more than one-half of the states the office carries both dignity and power. "The governor's position today is a long cry from that of his forerunner who had just enough power to sign the receipt for his salary."⁸

Can one justify the increase in the governor's power in view of the personnel of the governors in the past ten years? Some executives following upon reorganization in such states as California and Illinois disprove that reorganization necessarily produces better governors. Notwithstanding this, the composite picture of the last 178 governors outlined above is a favorable one. They stand high in comparison with their predecessors. They outrank the average citizen in their states. Many of them have already gone on to further useful governmental service upon completion of their terms.

⁸Leslie Lipson, *The American Governor—from Figurehead to Leader*, p. 239.

Choosing Election Officers

"The greatest single problem of election administration is that of securing honest and capable precinct officers, who are essential to a satisfactory election administration."

By MURRAY H. SHUSTERMAN
Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia

MANY students of judicial procedure have made the observation that, if the layman's respect for the courts and court procedure is to be maintained on a high level, the standards of the lower courts, those with which he most frequently comes in contact, must be raised. It is perhaps equally true that the voter would have a greater respect for the election procedure and a fuller appreciation of the privilege of voting if those who are in charge at the local voting precinct were of a higher calibre.

It is no exaggeration to say that the precinct election officers can well determine the character of an election. In New York the precinct election officers number over 15,000, exclusive of clerks, and in Chicago, excluding the clerks, there are about 11,000 election officers. The number of election officials in a city will, of course, vary with the number of election districts and other factors, but whatever the number certain principles still hold true. If these officials are incompetent, it is to be expected that the election will be conducted in a slipshod, careless manner, even though they are honest in intention. If they are dishonest and bent upon obtaining certain results, malpractices of one sort or another will prevail.

While the precinct election officer presents but one phase of the

general election problem, it is far from being a minor one. Dr. Joseph P. Harris has said: "The greatest single problem of election administration is that of securing honest and capable precinct officers, who are essential to a satisfactory election administration. . . . It is hardly possible to emphasize too greatly the importance of securing satisfactory precinct officers."¹

The purpose of this article is not to present solutions to the various administrative problems raised regarding precinct election officers, but rather to show how these problems are treated in the larger cities. It may perhaps be possible to learn by example—both what to do and what not to do. The facts presented in this study have been compiled from answers to a questionnaire sent to all cities having a population of over 300,000.² No questionnaire was sent to Washington, D. C., for obvious reasons. Replies were received from all but Jersey City, New Jersey.

There is no uniformity in the titles of election officials, and their titles are not always descriptive of the

¹*Election Administration in the United States*, Brookings Institution, 1934, p. 127.

²New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Los Angeles, Cleveland, St. Louis, Baltimore, Boston, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, Milwaukee, Buffalo, Minneapolis, New Orleans, Cincinnati, Newark, Kansas City (Mo.), Seattle, Indianapolis, Rochester, Jersey City, Louisville, Portland (Ore.).

duties they are required to perform.³ We shall refer to them as "election officers" and "election officials." In some cities the same persons who serve as election officers also perform registration duties, but we are to consider only their function of conducting the election on election day in the local election unit designated in the various cities as "precinct," "division," or "district."

Most cities have three or four election officers in charge of an election precinct, and usually they have one or more clerks to help them. In three cities, Detroit, San Francisco, and Portland, the number of election officers that serve will depend on the size of the precinct. Likewise the number may vary with the character of the election,⁴ or depend on the number of voting machines used.⁵

DUTIES NOT DIFFICULT

Any one who has voted is familiar with at least some of the duties of the election officials. In general, they are charged with the arrangement of furniture and voting equipment within the polling place; opening of the polls, examination of voting machines and ballot boxes, opening of

ballot packages, administering of oaths to inferior election aides; general supervision and conduct of the voting process, including distribution and receipt of ballots, keeping of voter's lists and district register, giving of instructions to electors, etc.; and finally tallying of votes and certification and delivery of returns to a central agency.

It will be worth while to note what the *legal* qualifications for election officers usually are. In addition to residence requirements and provisions for minority representation which are found in most of the state election codes, many states prescribe educational qualifications, though the degree of proficiency demanded varies. Most frequently the law demands that election officials be able to read and to write and sometimes the statutes go so far as to require these officials to be able to speak the English language. Iowa law provides that they shall be "well informed" as well as literate. Coming down to "fundamentals" the laws of Maryland and Missouri require their election officials to be "skilled in the four fundamental rules of arithmetic." It may be that the absence of this requirement in other states explains some of the peculiar additions, subtractions, multiplications, and divisions that have been used in arriving at the final count!

Many states have written pious wishes into the law regarding character specifications requiring the election officers to be of good moral character. Kentucky law says that to qualify as an election officer a person must be "sober, temperate, discreet, and of good demeanor."

³Most frequently there are "judges of election" or "inspectors of election" or both. In Boston one of the election officials is called the "warden" and Indianapolis has an election official known as "sheriff."

⁴In Los Angeles four election officers are used at the city elections and six at the county and state elections. In Cincinnati and in Cleveland there are usually four judges and two clerks for each election; however, when special elections are held on questions only, there may be two judges and two clerks in attendance.

⁵This is true in New York, Buffalo, Rochester, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh.

Incidentally another provision in the same law makes one who has placed a wager on the election ineligible. Of rather wide acceptance in election laws is the principle of disqualifying public officials and employees, and those who are candidates for office, from serving as election officials.

HOW CHOSEN

In all of the cities surveyed, with the exceptions of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, election officers are appointed. In Philadelphia and in Pittsburgh they are elected by the people. The most frequent system followed is that of having the election commissioners or supervisors of election appoint the precinct election officials.⁶ The appointees are usually those sponsored by the respective political party leaders.

Although not fundamentally different in result, the procedures used in selecting inspectors of election in Buffalo is quite different from that in other cities. Here the mayor is the appointing authority. The Board of Elections furnishes the mayor with an original and supplemental list of persons qualified by law to serve as inspectors of election, and from the original or supplemental list the mayor appoints. In practice, appointments are generally made at the instance of the district party committee and the mayor's part in the program is a matter of formality.⁷ Some

legal provisions exist for the preliminary examination of inspectors, but from the cases of incompetents that have been reported, the examinations are poor or are imperfectly applied.

Also off the beaten track is the practice in Minneapolis. There the law provides that the city aldermen in council session shall appoint election judges. In practice the aldermen in each ward select the election judges for their respective wards. In Los Angeles election officers are appointed by City Council for city elections and by the Board of Supervisors for state and county elections. The registrar of voters, who is a civil service employee, appoints the election officers in San Francisco. When the number of satisfactory persons registering with the registrar for appointment is insufficient, it is the registrar's practice to solicit applications from persons having standing on appropriate civil service eligible lists—such as general clerks, clerk-stenographers, and typists.

PHILADELPHIA AND PITTSBURGH

The system of choosing election officers in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh merits a few separate paragraphs of discussion—but not because it should be imitated. Written into the fundamental law of the state is the constitutional provision that the election officers shall be elected by the people.⁸ And thus every two years

⁶New York, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, St. Louis, Baltimore, Boston, Milwaukee, New Orleans (for general elections only), Cincinnati, Newark, Kansas City, Seattle, Indianapolis, Rochester, Louisville, Portland.

⁷The County Board of Elections which is responsible to the state for the proper conduct of all elections in the county con-

sists of one Republican and one Democrat appointed by the Board of Supervisors of the county, on nomination of the respective county chairmen of the two political parties.

⁸Constitution of Pennsylvania, article 8, section 14. Prior to 1909 election officers were elected annually. An amendment of November 2, 1909, (schedule) includes these

the ballot, which is already too long, contains the names of candidates for these election posts. There is little reason to support this system of popular choosing of election officials. The practice is based on the popular notion that the best way to control public officials is to elect them.

An examination of the facts will show that this principle has no sound basis so far as election officials are concerned. Names of candidates for these offices usually are placed in an obscure part of the ballot, where they do not attract much attention. The average voter hears little, and cares less, about the petty division contests, and it can hardly be said that he manifests any real interest in controlling these officials when he exercises his voting right. Moreover, one might well ask what sort of "control" would the voter seek to have over these election officers. They are not policy-determining officers, but rather, for the most part, perform duties outlined in detail by law.

It is interesting to note that many of these elected election officers, for one reason or another, do not serve. In 1938, with 1,300 divisions in the city, the Court of Quarter Sessions, which has power to fill vacancies occurring prior to election day, filled 367 vacancies in election judgeships and 629 in inspectorships. The report of the Reed Committee to the United States Senate in 1929 stated that in the election of November 2, 1926, only 25 per cent of the Philadelphia election officers who signed the returns were those who had been

officers among others who are to be elected at the municipal elections which are held every odd year.

elected as election officers. If any good reasons exist for electing these officers, they disappear when the officers elected fail to serve.⁹

This elective system has been in force throughout the state since 1799 with the exception of the period from 1869 to 1873 in Philadelphia. A constitutional amendment which would have made it possible to substitute appointive for elective election officers was submitted to the electorate in 1909 but the proposal was voted down by a vote of 128,287 for the amendment to 194,810 against it.¹⁰ The defeat of the amendment was attributed to the work of two groups—a reform group which maintained that the fundamental principles of democracy would be violated if the provision for an elected election board were abolished, and a faction of the dominant political party which maintained that much more satisfactory results could be obtained by election than by appointment.¹¹

USE OF EXAMINATIONS

To perform the routine duties that are normally required of an election officer it is necessary to obtain a person of only average intelligence who is able to read and write and who knows what the duties of an election officer are. The best way to determine the presence of these qualifications is by examination. Examinations are given in some of the cities

⁹*Citizens' Business*, September 12, 1939, Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research.

¹⁰Edward Bates Logan, *Supervision of the Conduct of Elections and Returns*, Lancaster Press, Inc., 1927, p. 18.

¹¹Clinton Rogers Woodruff, "Election Reforms," *NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW*, October 1916, p. 615.

but, for the most part, they are slipshod and inadequate. The examination given by the Board of Elections in New York contains the answers to all the questions and a statement to that effect appears at the head of each page of the examination. It, therefore, is merely a test of the ability of the candidate to read English and to write fairly legibly, but it is not a test of the candidate's knowledge of his duties. That is the reason this examination is considered pretty much of a farce.¹² An attempt is now being made to remedy the present situation.¹³

One of the most efficient methods of choosing election officers is found in Milwaukee. In 1937 the Election Commission requested the Civil Service Commission to hold examinations to fill vacancies that had occurred in these positions. About 1,500 candidates took the examination. Eligible lists were set up to represent the three dominant political parties and appointments were made from these lists in conformity with legal requirements for party representation. It is interesting to note that in 1938, when the terms of those who had not taken the examination in 1937 had expired, some 30 per cent did not appear or failed to pass the test.

In several states there are move-

¹²Letter to the author from Walter M. Weis, chairman of the Committee on Election Law of the City Club of New York.

¹³A bill has been introduced in the New York State legislature (Senate Int. No. 385, Print No. 389) which provides, among other things, that "No person taking such examination shall be permitted to know the questions or answers in advance or be given access to the answers or an opportunity to consult with any person during the examination." The bill also requires finger-printing of all successful candidates.

ments for statutory provisions which would make it mandatory to test the competency of applicants for these jobs. At the last session of the Minnesota legislature a bill was passed providing for the selection of these officials on a merit basis to go into effect this year. The legislation was proposed to avoid the selection of incompetents whose appointments were made for political reasons.¹⁴ A bill was also introduced in the 1937 general assembly of Ohio which would have reduced the number of election officers and would have placed them on a civil service basis. The bill received little attention.

A rather unusual provision regarding the selection of these officials is found in the election law governing Kansas City. The Board of Election Commissioners selects those who are to serve as the judges and clerks of election. Those chosen must appear for examination before the board as to their qualifications. If they are found to be eligible, they must accept the appointment and serve, unless they are excused by the board for a good reason. Those who have not been excused and who fail to serve are subject to mandatory prosecution

¹⁴A provision in the law, however, enables the civil service requirement for the selection of election judges and clerks to be nullified by act of a city council. Taking advantage of this provision, the Minneapolis City Council adopted a resolution providing that the old system of aldermanic selection of judges and clerks is to be continued. Consequently, the law is nullified so far as Minneapolis is concerned. Numerous organizations in the city friendly to the civil service system, particularly the League of Women Voters, it is said, will endeavor to have the next legislature close this loophole in the law. Letter to author from Rudolph Lee, director of the Research Bureau of the Minneapolis Civic Council.

by the board, and if convicted, may be fined from \$100 to \$300. It is reported that this legislation has enabled the Board of Election Commissioners to secure a higher type of precinct official.

MINORITY REPRESENTATION

In all cities, except Los Angeles, San Francisco, New Orleans, and Rochester, the law requires that there be minority representation among those selected as election officials of the local precinct. The law governing New York includes a bipartisan provision that goes so far as to require equal representation of the two political parties which at the next preceding general election cast the highest and next highest number of votes. Substantially the same practice exists in Cleveland, St. Louis, Baltimore, Boston, Buffalo, Cincinnati, Newark, Kansas City, Indianapolis, and Louisville.¹⁵ In Philadelphia and Pittsburgh where election officers, exclusive of clerks, are elected, a constitutional provision restricts a voter to voting for the judge and only one inspector. Although under this system of limited voting it would still be possible to elect three election officers of the same political party, in practice this does not usually happen. For Minneapolis, the law provides that no more

than two judges or clerks of election may belong to the same political party; and in Chicago, at least one of the three judges of election and one of the two clerks are to be from the leading minority party. Substantially the same practice exists in Seattle. In Portland no specified division is made as to the number or kind of election official that is to represent a political party. The only restriction is that all of the election officials shall not be of the same political party.

Portraying the political party system of Wisconsin, the law governing the selection of these officials for Milwaukee provides that in each precinct not more than one inspector nor more than one ballot clerk shall be of the same political party and such inspectors shall be chosen from the *three* dominant political parties as shown by the returns of the next preceding general election in such precincts. Then, the two ballot clerks are chosen from the *two* dominant parties.

According to the best available information, the statutory authority governing elections in New Orleans cannot be cited with a high degree of certainty. The most recent law on the subject has been declared unconstitutional by the Louisiana State Supreme Court. It is interesting to note, however, the unique practice in selecting some of these local precinct officials. So far as we have been able to ascertain, the following system of choosing these officials for the primaries has not been changed for many years. Each candidate for the legislature has the power to nominate

¹⁵The law governing the appointment of precinct inspectors in Detroit provides that not more than 50 per cent, as near as may be, shall be of the same political party. Under a Supreme Court ruling, however, it has been held that this has no application to the so-called nonpartisan or independent voters. As a matter of practice, the city election commissioners appoint the election inspectors from among all the major groups.

two commissioners for each precinct. The names of these proposed "election commissioners" are then placed in a wheel and five names are then drawn for each precinct. Our source of information tells us that these names have in recent years been drawn from the wheel by a blindfolded orphan boy in the office of the registrar. We assume that being an orphan (plus being blindfolded) adds to his potential honesty and nonpartisanship.

RESIDENCE REQUIREMENT

Almost all of the cities surveyed are governed by provisions of law containing mandatory residence requirements for those who are to serve as precinct election officials. Fortunately for New York City, it is not subject to such a provision. If it were, it would be impossible to set up an entire election board in that election district in which only one voter is registered.

Most of the laws require actual residence in the precinct or division. In some cities, however, as in St. Louis, the rule is a little more flexible and allows the appointment of an election official if he resides, is employed, or has a place of business in the ward (not precinct) in which he is to serve. Substantially the same condition exists in Baltimore and in Kansas City.

There would appear to be no local residence requirements in Detroit, San Francisco, Buffalo, New Orleans, and Rochester. Nevertheless, in all of the cities an attempt is made to secure election officers who are residents of the precincts in which they are to serve.

TENURE

One does not find a high degree of uniformity in the length of term these election officials are to serve. Of the twenty-three cities surveyed, we find that in eight cities the election officers are chosen to serve one year;¹⁶ in six they are appointed for each election,¹⁷ and in five they are chosen to serve for a period of two years.¹⁸ The longest term for which these officials are chosen is four years. This is true in St. Louis and Kansas City where the election officers are appointed at least sixty days prior to each presidential election. No term of office is fixed in Detroit. The city election commissioners appoint the election inspectors for indefinite terms. Although the law regarding elections in New Orleans is not certain, as has been pointed out before, it would appear that election officers are appointed for the two Democratic primaries, and prior to each general election.

COMPENSATION OF ELECTION OFFICERS

How much should these local election officers be paid for carrying out their duties on election day? It would perhaps be a difficult task to arrive at a conclusion if one were to be guided solely by the practice in large cities, for there is little uniformity. In Philadelphia and Pittsburgh the judge of election may be paid as much as \$17.50 plus mileage expenses whereas in New Orleans, it would

¹⁶New York, Cleveland, Boston, Buffalo, Cincinnati, Newark, Rochester, and Louisville.

¹⁷Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Minneapolis, Seattle, and Indianapolis.

¹⁸Philadelphia, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Milwaukee, and Portland.

appear, they receive no compensation for service at the primary.

The compensation of these officials will often vary with the nature of the election. In Chicago they normally receive eight dollars a day. However, for presidential elections and for the primary preceding presidential elections, the judges and clerks are credited with two days' service in all precincts where 300 or more ballots are cast.¹⁹

In some cities, as in New York, a different rate of pay exists, depending upon whether voting machines or paper ballots are used. Furthermore, not all election officials serving in the same precinct are always paid the same amount.²⁰

The election code of Pennsylvania of 1937 sets up a schedule of compensation for election officers for all of the municipalities of the state. For Philadelphia and Pittsburgh the judge of election receives fifteen dollars and each inspector ten dollars per election. An additional \$2.50 is paid to the judge of election and the minority inspector for transmitting the returns and ballot boxes. The law also provides that the judge of elec-

tion shall be allowed three cents per mile for mileage in making his returns.

Incidentally it is interesting to note that several other cities, among them Milwaukee, Minneapolis, and Cincinnati, provide for some small additional compensation to the election officer who calls for the ballots and makes the returns. An unusual provision governing the payment of election officers exists in Minneapolis. Whether designed to inspire these officials to induce as many as possible to come out to vote or to pay them according to their labors, the law provides that these officials shall be paid seven dollars a day *plus six cents for each 100 votes counted*. Seattle pays its election officers fifty cents per hour. Such a system is always open to the abuse of "stretching time." The only city of those surveyed that takes official cognizance that election officers must eat is the city of Portland, which allows the election officers two meals at fifty cents each in addition to the three dollars per day.

It is understandable that there should be some variations in the compensation from state to state because of economic and other factors involved. However, there is little reason for the range of compensation that exists today. It is probably true that some are paid too little and some too much for the work done.

FILLING VACANCIES

In most of the cities surveyed, vacancies occurring among the election officials are filled by the original appointing authority. However, some other procedure is frequently pro-

¹⁹For municipal, state, and federal elections, election officers in Milwaukee receive eleven dollars per day; in the smaller school and judicial elections only eight dollars a day is paid. And in Los Angeles election officials are paid eight dollars for serving at the regular elections and only five dollars for such special elections as may be held. In Detroit an election officer may receive eight, ten, twelve, or sixteen dollars, depending on the magnitude of the election.

²⁰In Boston the "warden" and "clerk" each receive eleven dollars for the day and the "inspector" only nine dollars; and in Indianapolis, where the "inspector" is the more important official, he receives eight dollars for the day, each judge five dollars, and the "sheriff" three dollars.

vided if the vacancy occurs on the morning of the election. Thus in New York, for instance, if a vacancy occurs on election day, the remaining inspector appoints a qualified voter of the district who is a member of the same party as the one whose office is vacant.²¹

Some cities are governed by a more complex procedure for filling vacancies. In Philadelphia and in Pittsburgh, if a vacancy occurs prior to election day, it is filled by the Court of Quarter Sessions. Such an appointee serves until his successor is elected at the next succeeding municipal election. If the vacancy occurs on election day, the following procedure must be followed: if the judge of elections does not appear at the polling place by 7:00 a. m., the majority inspector appoints a judge; or if the majority inspector does not appear at this hour, the judge of elections appoints a qualified person to act as a majority inspector. If the minority inspector does not appear at seven in the morning, the person who received the second highest vote for judge at the preceding municipal election is to serve as the minority inspector if he is available and qualified. If he is not, the electors of the district then present, under the supervision of the judge, elect one of their number who is qualified to fill the vacancy. This is known as a "curbstone election."

Boston has a somewhat similar pro-

vision for filling the vacancy of the office of inspector on election day. For Indianapolis the law provides that vacancies occurring on election day are to be filled by appointment by the other members on the election board of the same political faith. If none appears, the qualified electors present fill the vacancies by viva voce vote, as nearly as possible in conformity to legal provisions.

Vacancies occurring prior to election day are filled in Milwaukee by the Board of Election Commissioners from an eligible list made up of party representatives who have passed an examination given by the election commission. If a vacancy should occur on the morning of an election, it is filled by the first reliable person who is in the precinct at the time.²²

IN CONCLUSION

As we pointed out at the beginning, this article was primarily concerned with a presentation of the current practices regarding the selection, tenure, compensation, and other matters affecting precinct election officers. No attempt has been made to suggest solutions to the problems discussed.

In conclusion, however, we should like to make one observation. Although some may differ as to the best method of obtaining a more competent personnel, it seems self-evident to those who have observed conditions in their respective cities that to allow party workers to constitute the

(Continued on page 199)

²¹Substantially, the same procedure exists in quite a few other cities. In Los Angeles vacancies occurring prior to election day are filled by the city clerk. Those occurring on election day are filled by selection by the precinct officers present of any registered voter in the precinct.

²²In Detroit applications for positions of precinct election inspectors are always on file with the city election commissioners. Usually about one hundred of the applicants are called as reserves for filling last-minute vacancies on election morning.

City Employees vs. Manager Plan Bane or Boon?

National Municipal League questionnaire to all manager cities shows few dismissals, higher salaries, other employee benefits resulting from manager form.

A DECISIVE reply to that moot question: "What happens to old regime city employees when the manager plan is instituted?" has just been made available as a result of a National Municipal League survey.¹ In January questionnaires were sent by the League to managers in every one of the 472 communities in the United States having the council-manager form of government. The questionnaire was filled out and returned by 215 managers, statistically a good showing.

A tabulation of the managers' replies shows that:

In the large majority of cities no city employees were dismissed during the first year of the manager plan.

Such dismissals as were made were almost invariably clear cases of inefficiency or infraction of civil service rules or superannuation.

In more than 25 per cent of manager cities the total number of city employees increased after the manager plan was instituted.

Teachers were almost never affected by the new form of government, because in almost all cities school administration is legally separate from municipal administration.

Dismissals of policemen and firemen were rare.

Employees' salaries are higher in

at least 55 per cent of cities having the manager plan than they were before the plan was adopted.

The survey had an interesting by-product in the form of letters and notes of comment from some of the managers. One or two managers resented the questionnaire because they said it put the manager plan on the defensive, whereas in their opinion the other forms of government should be more logically called on to defend themselves. A common complaint was that officials under the previous form of government had either left no municipal records whatever, or else had given the manager plan a heritage of jumbled books and records, so that all attempts at quantitative comparisons were bootless.

In many cities, said the managers, the manager plan makes possible special benefits for city employees such as pension systems, sick leave, training opportunities, free medical care, which were not available under previous forms of government. They attributed these advantages to improved municipal finances resulting from increased efficiency of operation.

The sizes of cities replying to the League's questionnaire ranged from Cincinnati down to a municipality which admitted to one employee.

A summary of the results of the survey follows:

¹A leaflet has been issued embodying the results of the survey. See advertisement on back cover of this issue.

National Municipal League Inquiry

Into effect of the adoption of the Council-Manager form of government on public employees¹

1. How many city employees were there (exclusive of school teachers) when the plan went into effect?

139 cities or 64.6% replied to this question. Answers show that the number of employees in the cities replying ranged from one to 3,591. This fact must be taken into account in interpreting the results given below.

76 " " 35.4% did not answer this question.²

2. How many were dismissed during the first year?

92 cities or 42.8%—no dismissals

14 " " 6.6%—1 dismissal

19 " " 9.1%—between 1 and 5 dismissals

14 " " 6.5%—from 5 to 10 dismissals

6 " " 2.8%—more than 10 dismissals³

5 " " 2.2%—"few" dismissals

65 " " 30.0%—did not answer this question.²

3. In general, what was the reason for these dismissals?

21 cities or 35.8%⁴—inefficiency or incompetence of employees

13 " " 21.5%⁴—overmanned departments

7 " " 12.5%⁴—infraction of rules or drinking

6 " " 10.5%⁴—consolidation of departments

2 " " 3.7%⁴—age or physical disability

3 " " 5.5%⁴—voluntary resignation

6 " " 10.5%⁴—other reasons.⁵

4. How many city employees (exclusive of teachers) were there at the end of the first year?

67 cities or 31.2%—no difference in the number employed

55 " " 25.7%—a greater number of employees under the manager plan.

20 " " 9.1%—fewer employees under the manager plan.

73 " " 34.0%—did not answer this question.²

¹Except for percentages given under question 3, all percentages are based on the total number of questionnaires returned—215.

²Many of those who replied were unable to answer all the questions, since the manager plan had been in effect in their cities for fifteen or twenty years and records of conditions at the time the plan was introduced were not available.

³Of the six cities reporting more than ten dismissals, two were cities employing more than 250, one employed more than 150, and one employed about fifty. Dallas, Texas, employing 2,639 when the plan was introduced, discharged 295 during the first year of the plan because of inefficiency and overmanned departments.

⁴These are percentages of the fifty-eight cities which reported dismissals.

⁵One city gave "political reasons" for dismissals.

Contributors in Review

AS A member of the Newark Labor Relations Board, and as its first chairman, **William L. Nunn** (*Communities Settle Their Labor Problems*) comes realistically by his knowledge of municipal industrial peace boards. For academic background he has his professorship of economics at the University of Newark.

TO BECOME secretary to a man now prominently mentioned for the presidency of the United States, **John A. Perkins** (*American Governors—1930 to 1940*) interrupted his senior year at the University of Michigan in 1936. After his experience with Senator Vandenberg, Mr. Perkins returned to the university to complete work for the A.B. and M.A., and finally to join the staff of the Political Science Department. He has contributed articles to the *American Political Science Review* and *Social Education*.

AS RESEARCH editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW and publications editor of the National Municipal League, **Miriam Roher** (*Editor Puts Civics on Page One*) has contributed frequently to this magazine.

RIGHT out of Temple University Law School, and a few days after taking the State Bar examinations (1936) **Murray H. Shusterman** (*Choosing Election Officers*) became a member of the staff of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research. Except for being loaned to the Philadelphia Charter Commission from August 1937 until April 1939, to help in drafting a new charter for Philadelphia, Mr. Shusterman has been with the bureau ever since.

WITH Northwestern University as a base, **William C. Wichman** (*Kenosha Citizens in Action*) has fared into nearby Winnetka, Kenosha, and Evanston to gather material on purchasing, civic organization, and personnel administration, respectively. At the same time he was receiving degrees in political science at Northwestern University and becoming a member of the department—the latter since June 1939. The work on the Kenosha Civic Council was done in connection with a seminar on local government and politics conducted by Professor A. R. Hatton, and involved research done personally in Kenosha.

CITY EMPLOYEES VS. MANAGER PLAN

(Continued from page 196)

31 " " 14.5%—did not answer this question.

Teachers' salaries?

179 cities or 83.3%—teachers' salaries not under city control.

2 " " .9%—teachers' salaries are under city control.

34 " " 15.8%—did not answer this question.

8. How do average salaries compare with the average under the previous form of government?

115 cities or 54.6%—average salaries higher under manager plan.⁹

9 " " 4.2%—average salaries lower under manager plan.

54 " " 23.9%—did not answer this question.²

⁹A number of the replies pointed out that nation-wide economic conditions and cost of living were an important factor in apparent changes in city salary levels.

Campaigning for Council in Cincinnati

How Charles H. Tobias Did It

RATHER than discuss politics, I want to tell you a story. I am a broker. That is not an advertisement. That is a statement of background. One day not so long ago a gentleman came to me and said, "Charlie, I represent a group of men who are interested in a business—a rather large business. They would like to have you go on its board of directors."

"Why me," I asked.

"Well," he said, with a sort of "come on" smile, "you have been in business for thirty years, you should know something about finance and management. My men think you would be qualified to act as a director. It will take some of your time from your regular business, but you ought to do it."

LET ME KNOW

"What is the business? What's its name?" I asked. He wrote the name down on a slip of paper, handed it to me, and said, "Here, Charlie, don't answer now—take a few days' time. Investigate this business and see if, as a broker, you would recommend its stock for investment. Then let me know what your answer will be."

Well, I investigated and right off the figures staggered me by their size. Here was a business that had a plant, property, and equipment worth about \$300,000,000. They were doing a volume of over \$16,000,000. They have a yearly payroll of over \$7,000,000, and employ steadily 5,200 people, with many more on the temporary payrolls from time to time.

"How long has this been going on?" said I to myself. Then I looked back over the history of the business. I found that formerly it was poorly run in the hands of men with selfish interests. The directors were accustomed to employ an uncle at \$500 per month rather than an

expert at \$200. The plant was run down. The customers and stockholders were disgruntled. Cobwebs festooned the machinery. Buildings were in bad repair. The plant was obsolete. That was only thirteen years ago. In that year, 1925, the business had lost about \$800,000 in operations.

A REVOLUTION

Something had to be done—and quickly. So a group of stockholders got together and practically staged a revolution. They drew up papers for a protective committee. They drew up a bill of rights and to the jaw which staggered the old guard. They got proxies from the balance of the stockholders who up to then hadn't known what to do about it—and in one clean sweep kicked the defunct management out the door and set up a new order of things.

They hung up a sign—"No Cousins Allowed." They secured an expert manager at a salary that fitted the responsibility of the job. They made it a rule that only the smartest and the most skillful employees should be hired.

They installed, by vote of the stockholders, a board of directors chosen from keen men who knew their jobs. And they established a system of voting whereby the minority interests were always represented on the board.

A THRIVING BUSINESS

In the last thirteen years the business has thrived. In 1926 it owed \$70,000,000. In 1938 the debt was cut to \$53,000,000—down about 22 per cent. During this period, competitive businesses had increased their debts from 100 per cent to 200 per cent. The business established such a wonderful reputation for soundness and credit that in June, 1939, they were able to bor-

row money at the rate of 1.69 per cent interest, while other similar plants were paying 2.60 per cent for their money.

In 1926 the business paid over \$4,000,000 in interest for the money it owed at the rate of 4.29 per cent. In 1939 it will pay only \$2,800,000—at the rate of 3.56 per cent.

And all the while it was operating at a profit under the new management and cutting down its debt; it was adding to the plant and equipment (last year it added about \$4,000,000); and increasing its services to its customers out of income.

Its volume of business grew from about \$8,000,000 in 1925 to \$16,000,000 in 1938. The stock of this company advanced in value about 35 per cent in the last twelve

years, while the stocks of competing companies rose much less rapidly.

CONTENTED CUSTOMERS

Today the customers are content with the product. The workers are happy. And the stockholders are getting their same steady dividends.

After this study of the business I was impressed and enthused with the idea of serving on its board of directors.

I do not have to tell you that the name of the business written on the slip was the city of Cincinnati—and that the new management was made up of the councilmen supported by the City Charter Committee.

I will be glad to serve on the board of directors, or council, as it is sometimes called—provided the stockholders will have me.

CHOOSING ELECTION OFFICERS

(Continued from page 193)

election administrative force is not to invite honesty, efficiency, or economy in the conduct of elections. These officers should be chosen on the basis of merit. Moreover, responsible persons should be urged and, perhaps, if need be, compelled to serve, as in Kansas City, Missouri.

In some cities attempts have been made to get business firms to suggest names of employees who can serve on election day. Since banks and some other business houses are usually closed on election day, it might be

desirable to get many of their employees to act as election officers. If the personnel is maintained on a high level, it is not improbable that many of these clerks would be glad to earn extra money on election day.

Any such steps taken to improve the personnel will doubtless meet with the opposition of the party organizations who use the precinct position as petty patronage to reward the less important but faithful party workers. However, the fight will be worthwhile, for in achieving a better administrative personnel we will have taken a major step toward raising the citizens' regard for and appreciation of the democratic process of election.

The Researcher's Digest: March

Indianapolis bureau uncovers relief scandal; Detroit finds federal relief subsidies to localities began in 1825; Baltimore bureau places blame for debt; police in Boston; government internes in Los Angeles.

RELIEF has been administered for the vendors of supplies rather than for the families that must depend upon relief grants for their subsistence. . . ."

Rumors that persons were receiving relief who were not in need of it prompted the **Bureau of Governmental Research of the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce** to embark, in the summer of 1939, on an investigation of local welfare administrative procedures. A January 1940 report summarizes the bureau's findings, which constitute a thorough-going denunciation of the relief system caricatured in Indianapolis newspapers as "horse-and-buggy."

That favored merchants are the present beneficiaries of relief is only one of the bureau's conclusions. It found that a decentralized administration was carrying on its rolls persons who were dead, had moved away, had jobs, were "on vacation," were "unknown" at their listed addresses, or were listed as living in non-existent dwellings. Relief investigators were too few and incompetent. The system as a whole was geared to benefit relatives and friends of the trustee who was in charge of the relief office.

The research bureau's recommendations call for the establishment of a central investigating agency with trained social workers for all forms of welfare, the adoption of improved business methods which would give clients a free choice of vendors and permit all vendors to serve relief clients, the adoption of a pay-as-you-go budget, institution of work relief, and the elimination of political influence from the administration of relief.

A grand jury investigation of relief, the establishment of pay-as-you-go budgeting, and considerable publicity in Indianapolis

newspapers have been some of the results of the bureau's study.

Madison Started It

In 1825—over a century ago—the federal government first gave relief to dependents in Detroit, reports the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research** in *Just a Second* for January 15. Reversing the precedents making relief a local responsibility, President Madison allocated \$1,500 from the federal treasury to help the 8 per cent of Detroit families which were distressed.

Contrasting this early example of federal "intervention" with the situation today, the bureau relates that "administrative costs" in 1825 "were nil. Social work did not exist. The authorities purchased sacks of flour which were distributed to the Catholic families by the parish priests and to the Protestant families by the justices of the peace. The total number of families given aid in that year was 604." A tabulation of 1940's administrative agencies, types of grants, amounts of grants, and numbers of families aided, plus some suggestion of today's administrative methods, is appended to the report.

Only Ourselves to Blame

Shall we blame past generations for the heavy municipal debt burdens that taxpayers in today's cities are bearing? The **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy** analyzed the Baltimore debt to find out. The commission reports in *Your Tax Dollar* for December 9 that the "municipal debt burden is largely of our own making and not inherited from past generations."

Of the total \$12,500,000 of debt service

charges that must be paid by Baltimore taxpayers in 1940, 44 per cent is due to debt created during the present mayor's twelve and one-half years in office, equivalent to forty-eight cents on the tax rate. Due to debt created during the former mayor's eight years in office is thirty-nine cents on the tax rate, or 35 per cent of the debt charges for 1940. The rest—21 per cent or twenty-three cents on the tax rate—is due to debt created prior to May 1919.

How 32 Cops Caused a Survey

Thirty-two new patrolmen were recently appointed to the police department of Boston. Was the appointment justified?

By way of reply, the **Boston Municipal Research Bureau** made a survey of the police department. The city's financial situation is such, says the bureau, that it "should not incur any new expense without the most careful study."

The bureau set out to answer three questions: How well is Boston providing for police protection? How do police expenditures and personnel in Boston compare with those in other populous cities? What are the results of police work in Boston?

This research involved a study of Police Department expenditures from 1930 to 1939, legal responsibilities and controls within the department, size of the force from 1929 to 1939; distribution of personnel and location of station houses, comparison of these factors with other cities, comparison of crime rates with other cities, local trends in crime.

The findings, embodied in an eight-page report in the bureau's January 26 bulletin, do not support the appointment of the thirty-two patrolmen.

Learning by Doing

Within the past few years a variety of schemes has been put into operation in the governmental units of Los Angeles

County for giving training to apprentices in the science of government. "Internship Training for the Public Service in Los Angeles County," No. 2 of the Studies in Local Government of the **Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of California at Los Angeles** (December 1939) is a concise, comprehensive study of all the new arrangements, with recommendations for their improvement.

George W. Bemis, author of the study, cautions that no general conclusions or recommendations may be made which apply to all the various internship training plans in the area: research internes in the Los Angeles County government, civil service internes in the Los Angeles county government, the working fellow plan in the Los Angeles city school districts, the personnel assistant plan of the city of Glendale, and the personnel aids in the Civil Service Commission of the city of Los Angeles. He has, however, several specific suggestions to make on the subject of each which will probably be a guide in judging internship programs elsewhere.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Assessment

Tax Assessing. Dayton Research Association, *Facts*, February 5, 1940. 3 pp. mimeo.

City Automobiles

City Automobiles. Kansas City Civic Research Institute, *Kansas City Public Affairs*, January 25, 1940. 2 pp.

City Charter

About Charter Changes—I. The Form of Government. Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, *Just A Second*, January 30, 1940. 2 pp. mimeo.

Debt

Municipal Debt Burden Largely of our Own Making. Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency & Economy, Inc., *Your Tax Dollar*, December 9, 1939. 3 pp. mimeo.

Finance

Provincial and Municipal Taxation During the War. Citizens' Research Institute of Canada, *Canadian Taxation*, January 31, 1940. 4 pp.

Twelve Years of Income for Montgomery County Government. Dayton Research Association, *Facts*, November 1939. 44 pp. mimeo.

Fire

Comparative Data on Fire Departments. Atlantic City Survey Commission, Inc., January 29, 1940. 3 pp. mimeo.

Police

Sick Leave—An Unsolved Problem. Atlantic City Survey Commission, Inc., January 18, 1940. 3 pp. mimeo.

Police Appointments—A Test Case for Economy. Boston Municipal Research Bureau, *Bulletin*, January 26, 1940. 8 pp.

Prisoners

The Length of Sentences Imposed Upon Prisoners Committed to the Oregon State Penitentiary 1921-1936. Bureau of Municipal Research and Service, University of Oregon, December 1939. 26 pp. mimeo.

Public Welfare

"Relief" Story No. 3. Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research, *White Paper* No. 247, January 24, 1940. 3 pp.

About Public Relief in 1825 and 1940. Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research,

Just a Second, January 15, 1940. 2 pp. mimeo.

How to Reduce Our Relief Load in 1940. Des Moines Bureau of Municipal Research, *Subscribers' Bulletin* No. 84. January 12, 1940. 1 p. mimeo.

Self-Help Projects Cut Relief Costs. Des Moines Bureau of Municipal Research, *Subscribers' Bulletin* No. 85, February 1, 1940. 1 p. mimeo.

A Review of Poor Relief Administrative Procedures in Center Township, and Suggested Changes for Improvement. Bureau of Governmental Research, Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce, January 1940. 15 pp. mimeo.

Refuse Collection

Limiting Refuse Collections. Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business*, January 30, 1940. 3 pp.

Schools

Twelve Years of Income for the Dayton Public Schools. Dayton Research Association, *Facts*, August 1939. 35 pp. mimeo.

Facts About Rural School Districts in Missouri. Governmental Research Institute, *Dollars and Sense in Government*, January 17, 1940. 2 pp.

Training for the Public Service

Internship Training for the Public Service in Los Angeles County. By George W. Bemis. Bureau of Governmental Research, University of California, December 1939. 46 pp. mimeo.

Voting

How Rochester and Monroe County Vote. Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc., *Municipal Research*, January 1940. 1 p.

News in Review

City, County, State Progress in Brief

Governor's Advisory Council Revived in Maryland

Idaho Tries the Merit System; New York Constitutional Initiative Sought; Kansas City Cuts Terms

Edited by
H. M. OLMSTED

On January 29, about one year after his inauguration, Governor Herbert R. O'Connor of Maryland announced his plan to revive the Governor's Advisory Council which had been virtually inactive for eighteen years. This council was created by law in 1922 at the request of Governor Albert C. Ritchie "for the purpose of promoting co-ordination and effective supervision over the conduct of the state government" and "for the consideration of general state policies, finances, departmental and institutional work and conditions."

The law provided that the council should consist of the following executive officials: controller, treasurer, and attorney general of the state; the president of the state university and the Board of Agriculture (both positions are held by the same individual); the chairmen of the Board of Correction, Conservation Commission, Employment Commission, Welfare Board, and the Board of Education; the directors of health and public works; the commissioner of motor vehicles; and the police commissioner of Baltimore City.

Governor Ritchie saw fit to summon the council only twice during his thirteen years in office. Governor Harry Nice, who served from 1935-1939, met with it on only one occasion.

Governor O'Connor called the council together for its first meeting on February 6

at Annapolis. After having decided at once to hold frequent meetings thereafter, the council proceeded to the consideration of a proposal for an eventual annual saving of \$300,000 in the state's salary payroll through the standardization of wages. The director of state employment, Harry C. Jones, disclosed that the surveys of the Salaries Standard Board revealed that a number of state employees are paid higher salaries than is called for under their merit system classification, but are protected by law from having their salaries reduced during their tenure. Consequently the reduction can be effected only whenever a replacement in position takes place.

In closing the first meeting Governor O'Connor indicated that he wished to have the council launch studies aimed at tax reduction and the elimination of administrative "red tape," overlapping, and duplication.

The revival and reorganization of this Advisory Council is highly interesting, if not significant, for many reasons.

Last March, after vigorous support by the Governor, the state legislature created a legislative council of fourteen members, seven from each house.¹ This council has met quite frequently since its inception and has considered a wide number of problems, the majority of which might be termed "innocuous." Although the act creating the legislative council did not give the Governor any position on the council the two have coöperated in the discussion of several problems.

There is speculation as to whether or not this move was prompted by the Governor's dissatisfaction with the work of the legislative council, and his belief that certain deficiencies might be remedied by reviving the executive group. Another view

¹See "A Legislative Council For Maryland," by author, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, June 1939.

is that the legislative council will restrict itself to strictly "legislative," policy-determining matters while the Governor's agency will concern itself only with administrative matters such as the merit system, departmental finance, and the ever present problem of executive reorganization. At the outset at least the latter interpretation seems to be more correct. When summoning the members of the council the Governor stressed that its purpose would be to exchange ideas on how to effect economies in the handling of their department budgets, especially in purchasing, and to assist him in the preparation of the 1941 budget.

Regardless of the motives involved in this step, students of government will watch this development in order to see whether there is room and need for two bodies of this character in a state that has a population of less than two millions. Will it be demonstrated that there is a boundary line between the functions to be performed by an executive council and a legislative council working independently of each other? Will the two councils work together harmoniously and constructively to evolve a common recommendation on such a problem as executive reorganization? The Governor expressed this hope to his Advisory Council. Will this lead to closer coöperation between the executive and legislative branches of the government and to a greater degree of responsible leadership in solving the state's problems? These are but a few of the questions which the Maryland experiment may be able to answer.

HUGH A. BONE

University of Maryland

Merit System Makes Its Debut in Idaho

The year 1939 was an important one for the advancement of the merit system in Idaho. Although Idaho was one of the pioneer states in adopting administrative consolidation in 1919, the merit sys-

tem for selecting personnel has only very recently received serious consideration. The year 1939 has been marked by a suddenly kindled public interest in personnel, and the accomplishments achieved, although piece-meal and poorly coördinated, are very encouraging.

The first step toward civil service was made in November 1938, when the voters approved an initiative measure establishing an independent Fish and Game Commission, and providing that all employees be selected on the basis of merit.

The next forward step came when Governor Bottolfson, in his inaugural address in January 1939, endorsed the merit idea, recommending its adoption for certain departments. Legislation was enacted establishing merit systems in the Department of Public Welfare, the state comptroller's office, and the state police. Each was set up as a separate unit, no provision being made for a central agency or a coördinating link of any kind.

Progress after a year of experience is very uneven. Both the Fish and Game Commission and the Department of Public Welfare have established rather comprehensive sets of rules and regulations. In the case of the Fish and Game Commission one examination has been held and some appointments have been made from the register resulting. Public sentiment is somewhat divided; some charges have been made that the examination served only as a smoke screen for appointments made for other reasons. To date no examinations have been held by the Public Welfare Department, although all employees hired after September 15, 1939, are on a probationary basis subject to competitive examination to be held later.

The other two departments have not yet taken steps to install a formal merit system but some attempt is being made to base appointments upon special fitness. Failure to carry out the mandate of the law in these departments can be attributed not so much to spoils politics as to the

failure of the legislature to provide the necessary funds for installing the new system.

In summary, Idaho, at the close of its first year's experience with the merit system, may look back upon an encouraging if not a spectacular degree of progress. It is to be hoped that these notable gains may be consolidated and insured for further growth by the correlation of all personnel activities through some type of central agency.

L. H. CHAMBERLAIN

University of Idaho

Constitutional Initiative Urged for New York

A proposal introduced in the New York legislature by Senator Pliny Williamson of Scarsdale, to provide a method of amending the state constitution by popular initiative, is being advocated by the Citizens Union of the City of New York. At the present time a constitutional amendment must be passed by two sessions of the legislature with an election of assemblymen intervening before it can be presented to the people, except that a means of bypassing the legislature is provided once in twenty years through the opportunity to elect a constitutional convention. Since there are certain fields in which legislators may find action embarrassing even though changes in them are urgently needed, Senator Williamson proposes a difficult but still possible method of getting amendments before the people, after ample time for thorough consideration, without legislative approval.

The Citizens Union points out that there are eleven states, including Michigan, Ohio, and Missouri, in which it has long been possible to put constitutional amendments on the ballot directly by a large petition, and to do so much more easily than under Senator Williamson's bill. The experience of these states the union regards as reassuring.

Senator Williamson's proposal contains

special safeguards which are not thought necessary in the eleven states referred to. It provides that every initiated proposal shall be presented first to the Attorney General for advice as to drafting and later to the legislature for its consideration, and requires a second large petition for submission to the people if the legislature does not adopt the proposal as its own or meet the demand in some other way. This variation of the usual plan, which gives the legislature a chance to correct oversights, is copied in part from the present New York procedure for the amendment of city charters. The bill also provides that when an amendment is put on the ballot by petition, it must receive separate majority approvals in New York City and in the rest of the state. The minimum time required between the filing of the first petition and the popular vote following the filing of the second petition would be approximately three years, so that there would be no danger of hasty or ill-considered action. The bill even contains further safeguards to limit the use of the new method to matters of statewide concern.

One example of the sort of problem which might be solved by this device, in the opinion of the Citizens Union, is the problem of legislative reapportionment.

Idaho Administrative Consolidation Receives Judicial Setback

On February 3, 1940, Idaho's twenty-year-old system of cabinet government received a shock of as yet undetermined severity at the hands of the state's highest court in a unanimous decision holding the comptroller's act unconstitutional. Although the specific point at issue involved a law passed during the 1939 session, the opinion contained language broad enough to wipe out much of the original administrative consolidation act of 1919 as well as considerable supplementary legislation that has been enacted subsequently.

The decision in question terminated a

year-long attempt to determine the validity of the newly created state comptroller. This office, created by the legislature at the recommendation of the governor, was an innovation in Idaho governmental institutions. The new comptroller, by the terms of the statute, was to exercise powers of a very broad nature. Part of these were created *de novo* but most of them were simply transferred from other agencies. The new office included manifold functions some of which were widely divergent in character. For example, the following functions represent but part of the duties with which the comptroller was charged: investigation of all claims, financial consultant to the legislature, prescribing all financial forms, director of the budget, examination of all accounts, certification of accounts to the legislature, reports to the legislature of any illegal expenditure or contract.

Ranking in first place among those who lost important powers to the new comptroller was the state auditor, a constitutionally elective officer. He immediately brought suit challenging the validity of a statutory office which usurped the powers of an office established by the constitution. This transfer of powers from a constitutional office to a statutory one was declared to be beyond the power of the legislature by the district court and upon appeal the Supreme Court sustained the decision.

There is much difference of opinion as to the future effect of this decision upon the state's administrative structure. The decision itself is limited to this single statute but the court indulged in extended dicta on the general subject of legislative authority to interfere with the functions of constitutional officials, the implications of which are at present being widely debated. Generous portions of previous statutes modifying administrative institutions have cut into the powers allocated to various offices by the constitution without an issue of constitutional power being raised. Now that the subject has been

opened only time can tell what the future holds for the cabinet system in Idaho.

L. H. CHAMBERLAIN

University of Idaho

Number of State Censuses Now Small

Although the constitutions of at least twenty-two states provide that state population censuses be made every ten years, between the federal census dates, no more than five states now make population counts, the Council of State Governments reports.

The five states, according to the survey based in part on United States Bureau of Census reports, are Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Florida, Kansas, and South Dakota; of these Massachusetts and South Dakota have adopted the practice recently. The other seventeen states either never carried out the constitutional provision, or have dropped the practice within recent years. A sixth state, Indiana, takes a census every six years of all male inhabitants over twenty-one years of age.

When most state constitutions were drawn up, the states were in the process of being settled and wanted state censuses in addition to the regular United States censuses in order to reapportion their legislatures.

Council-Manager Plan News

The recently formed Citizens' League of **Baltimore, Maryland**, is showing interest in the manager plan.

In the borough of **Shillington, Pennsylvania**, the ordinance which created the office of borough manager has been repealed.

Interest in the manager plan has revived in **Bath, Maine**, which turned down a manager charter last September. The first manager plan council for the town of **Lincoln, Maine**, is to be elected March 18.

Superior, Wisconsin, will vote on the manager plan April 2nd. **Hermosa Beach and Arcadia, California**, will also vote on the manager plan in April.

The **Mankato, Minnesota**, charter commission has filed its report with the city council, recommending that the manager plan be adopted. The new charter will be voted on April 8th. Adoption of a new charter requires four-sevenths of the vote cast.

Mayor W. W. Chadwick of **Salem, Oregon**, has appointed a committee of nine—three councilmen and six other citizens—to study the city charter and make recommendations for changes. The manager plan has been suggested. Manager petitions are being circulated in **Silverton, Oregon**.

Monrovia, California, will vote on the manager plan April 9.

The **Union, New Jersey**, Township Taxpayers' Association has adopted a resolution favoring council-manager government over the present township committee form.

The city manager study commission appointed by Governor Townsend of **Indiana** held a public hearing on February 13 at the State House, at which the Indianapolis Junior Chamber of Commerce submitted a memorandum favoring a constitutional amendment, rather than a legislative enabling act, to permit Indiana cities to adopt the manager plan. Although this would mean delay, it would be in the interests of permanency, according to the report. The latter also dealt with a proposal for proportional representation. At the same hearing the manager plan was strongly advocated by the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce and the Indiana League of Women Voters.

Considerable interest in the manager plan is being shown in **Cape Girardeau, Missouri**.

Proposed city manager charters submitted to the voters of **Newark and Atlantic City, New Jersey**, failed of adoption.

Terms of Officials Cut in Kansas City

Six proposed charter amendments were

voted upon in **Kansas City, Missouri**, on February 13; the only one adopted was Amendment No. 1, which reduces the term of office of the mayor, eight councilmen, and two municipal judges, from four years to two years, thus terminating the terms of the incumbents on April 17, 1940, rather than two years hence. The present council has been dominated by the faction of Thomas J. Pendergast, who is now in the federal prison at Leavenworth, Kansas. A petition for a straight recall election had been prepared by anti-Pendergast people but the city clerk disqualified many signatures and rendered the petition invalid. The Pendergast forces were relatively inactive, and the amendment was adopted by about 96,000 to 17,000. An election is to be held April 2 to select the successors to the incumbents; great activity is expected then unless the present council succeeds in having the February election or the amendment declared illegal.

All other amendments were overshadowed. An active effort was made for the adoption of Amendment No. 2 which would have established civil service for firemen, placing all present members of the Fire Department under civil service protection, but it was defeated.

Public Service Training in New York City

On February 8 some three hundred city employees and one hundred prospective police and firemen started classes at the College of the City of New York along with more than eight thousand other students.

Commissioner of Investigation William B. Herlands has announced that seventy-four students from eight colleges in New York City have been appointed research associates or "internes" in his department, without pay, to study various municipal problems. They will receive academic credit.

Real Estate Boards Combat Urban Blight

At the January meeting of the directors of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, in Chicago, the following action was taken with the announced object of aiding cities to counteract trends which in many communities are causing progressive blight and decay in commercial and residential areas:

1. Suggestions made by the association's committee on commercial districts for co-operative action in individual cities to combat over-rapid decentralization and to conserve values in central and outlying business districts were approved.

2. Plans for conservation of residential areas, restoration of blighted areas, and good housing for low income groups through private initiative with the aid of existing public agencies were advanced.

3. It was agreed to sponsor and to make substantial contributions to the support of the Urban Land Institute, a research agency being created for objective study of the factors affecting city growth and values. As its first project the institute will attack the problem of decentralization, in its effect on business and residential districts.

On February 16 County Assessor John S. Clark made public various graphic and statistical illustrations in support of his contention that land in Chicago should be rezoned to halt the growth of slum areas and to stimulate home building. The last comprehensive zoning ordinance for Chicago dates from 1922 and largely represents wishful thinking. For example thirty-four square miles, or 16 per cent, of the city are zoned for high apartment buildings that in total would house 42,172,412 people.

Statutes for Public Housing Now Numerous

A total of 125 laws on public low-cost housing have been passed by thirty-eight states since New Jersey and Ohio pioneered with the first legislation in 1933, according to an analysis by the National Association

of Housing Officials. Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the District of Columbia add a dozen more laws to the list. Ten states as yet have no legislation on public housing on their books.

Some states have only one housing law, the survey showed. Others have seven or eight statutes apiece because state constitutional provisions necessitate separate acts classified by subject matter, or because amendments were passed as distinct new bills.

Included are enabling acts for housing authorities, provisions for demolition and slum clearance, provisions for tax exemption on the property and bonds of housing agencies, and laws prescribing tenant selection and setting requirements for non-profit operation.

Oregon County Considers Manager Plan

City-County Consolidation in the Limelight; Tax Collection Consolidated in Alabama

Edited by

ELWYN A. MAUCK

Civic groups of Clackamas County, Oregon, organized as the Greater Clackamas Union of Clubs, are initiating a movement to establish the manager plan in their county. Their aim under present tentative arrangements is to place the measure before the voters at one of the 1940 elections.

The union of clubs sponsored a constitutional amendment providing for a state-wide optional county manager plan ten years ago, but the electorate defeated it at the polls. The new plan will be only of local application under the general provisions of the state constitution.

Clackamas County has a population of 46,205 (1930 census), and its chief incorporated municipality is Oregon City.

Limited Manager for Onondaga County, New York, Vetoed

Governor Lehman has vetoed a bill recently passed by the New York legislature which would have set up a somewhat limited manager plan in Onondaga County.

In conformity with promises made last fall, the Republican majority party of the county passed the plan under suspended rules at a little publicized special meeting of the Board of Supervisors. The plan was then forwarded to the state legislature for adoption.

The proposal entailed much less drastic reforms than those embodied in the county manager proposal defeated at the polls last November. It called for the abolition of no offices, but a manager was empowered to "coördinate" county activities, such manager to be a local resident and appointed for a four-year term.

In his veto message the Governor stated: "With the adoption of the county home rule amendment and the optional forms of government, there is no longer any excuse for makeshift legislation of this type.

"My approval of this bill would create in Onondaga County a new costly office of county manager, with deputies, clerks, and all the usual expenses. The proposed measure does not provide for abolition of any offices or for the consolidation of any offices.

"The county manager is given little effective authority in his own right. His powers and duties are stated in the vaguest terms and are made subject to approval by the Board of Supervisors.

"Moreover, this office would be foisted upon the people of Onondaga County without public discussion and without giving them the opportunity to express their approval or disapproval by popular vote."

Tennessee Consolidation Statutes Stir Further Action

Local governmental units in Tennessee again indicate they may take advantage of the series of laws passed by the 1939 Gen-

eral Assembly.¹ The acts permit complete consolidation of two or more counties and city-county consolidation of a functional nature. It is believed that complete city-county consolidation would require a constitutional amendment.

In April 1939, one month after the passage of the acts, the residents of Union County petitioned for annexation to Knox County, which contains the city of Knoxville. A short time later the mayor of Memphis proclaimed himself in favor of city-county consolidation. No further developments have resulted in either case.

Now the advantages of city-county functional consolidation have been called to the attention of Knoxvilleans by the *Knoxville Journal*. Such consolidation could be achieved merely by action of the governing bodies of city and county. The leading officials of both units have agreed to give further study to the possibilities under the statute.

Atlanta City-County Merger Fought

The North Fulton Voters Club of Fulton County, Georgia, has been organized for the purpose of opposing any effort to consolidate the county with the city of Atlanta. The club will operate primarily in the area formerly embraced by Milton and Campbell Counties, which were annexed to Fulton County a decade ago. The sponsors of the club fear that their area will be excluded from the merger, leaving a unit with a tax base inadequate to support local services.

Alabama Counties Collect City Taxes

Ninety-one Alabama municipalities of varying size have transferred their duties of tax assessment and collection to the county, according to Ed E. Reid, executive secretary of the Alabama League of Municipalities, writing in the *Southern Municipal*

¹Public Acts, 1939, chapters 222 to 226 inclusive. See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, April 1939, p. 312.

News. The experiment in consolidation was begun in 1911 when the city of Birmingham, under a special act of the legislature, transferred the functions relating to taxation to Jefferson County. The plan proved so successful that in 1923 the legislature extended the right to all municipal corporations of the state. Under a ruling of the state courts, the added duties are mandatory on county officials. They cannot reject the added obligations nor demand compensation above that provided by statute. The 1939 legislature brought about further integration by establishing one date for the payment of municipal, county, and state taxes and by providing for the joining of municipal and county claims and action against tax delinquent property.

North Carolina Court Rules on Term for Sheriffs and Coroners

By unanimous decision the Supreme Court of North Carolina has ruled that sheriffs and coroners who gained office in the general election of November 1938 shall serve until December 1942. Since a constitutional amendment extending the terms of these offices from two to four years was adopted at the same general election, it had been open to question whether the present incumbents were serving two- or four-year terms. The members of the Supreme Court reasoned that while the amendment became effective in November, the terms of those elected to office began the first Monday in December, and hence the constitution in effect on the latter date would apply.

North Carolina Local Government Groups Cooperate

The executive committees of the County Commissioners Association and the North Carolina League of Municipalities, in a meeting held recently, have decided to attack their common problems by joint action. They are planning to sponsor regional joint meetings of city and county officials in various parts of the state and to coöperate in presenting a program to

the 1941 legislature. The major provisions affecting counties in the legislative program are: (1) roadside control and beautification; (2) authority of counties to zone; (3) authority of counties to grant building permits; (4) increased home rule; (5) opposition to homestead exemption; (6) opposition to loss of further local revenue sources to the state.

Taxpayer Groups Stress Concrete Accomplishments

Utica Mayor Invites Citizen Aid

Edited by

ELWOOD N. THOMPSON

Associated in an infant movement to cut the cost of local and state government, New Hampshire taxpayers can point to real accomplishments within a scant year of state-wide organization.

The history of local taxpayer organization in the state is scarcely more venerable. The first tax association in the state was started in the town of Claremont (population 12,000) five years ago. Although local merchants were the initiators, it was difficult for them to give active leadership, since both town and city were often their customers. Nevertheless, the Claremont association saw its town achieve one of the lowest tax rates in the state, with a quality of government so good that the association soon felt it had little reason for existence. By 1939 the Claremont group was entirely inactive.

In Franklin also, a city of about 7,000, a beginning was made several years ago. A little money was raised, but nothing more was done. The money is still in the bank, and once again there are hopes of using it.

The first active group to be formed was in Nashua, in March 1938. In the face of a threatened six-dollar tax increase, public opinion resounded in a mass meeting of

over 1,100 taxpayers. An energetic but inexperienced leadership launched an effective publicity campaign, but, like too many new citizen groups, had too few facts on city spending to back up the pressure. Nevertheless, the actual tax increase turned out to be \$1.80 instead of \$6. In 1939, and again in 1940, actual work has been done on budget requirements of the city, the result, which may be at least partly laid to the work of the organization, was that the Nashua rate declined \$1.25 in 1939. In 1940 city officials demonstrate a genuine intention to look at every expense dollar with a thrifty eye. The biggest item in the 1940 program is a Griffenhagen survey, of whose approval there is some hope.

Immediately after the formation of the Nashua group came three more: Hudson, a nearby town of 3,500 population, handicapped by a \$48 tax rate; Laconia, a lake city with a serious relief problem; and Concord, the capital city, burdened with a non-taxable area of over one-third of the total.

By November of 1938, six small towns near Portsmouth had formed associations. Hollis, near Nashua, started another. Out of these seven, plus the four already mentioned, was organized the New Hampshire Federation of Taxpayers Associations. Patterned after its older Massachusetts brother, the federation was far poorer in everything except enthusiasm and determination.

Those two qualities won a measure of success. Some of the larger taxpayers in the state became interested in May 1939, and finally enough funds were obtained so that Donald J. Reed was employed as executive director of the federation, with offices in Concord. Mr. Reed is an experienced newspaper man, with five years actual work in the Massachusetts tax federation, and a record of accomplishment in the Lowell association.

Like most citizen organizations scarcely out of swaddling clothes, the federation is still very short on cash. Nevertheless, real progress has been made. Although the

1939 General Court session was already more than half over when Mr. Reed came on May 15, he began immediately to inform the members of the General Court, as fully as facts would allow, of the significance of several bills to the taxpayers. As a result the General Court, whose majority is made up of residents of small towns and small cities, backed the federation on all the four bills in which it took an active interest. A bill to give state aid to rural school districts, estimated to cost \$100,000, and opposed, surprisingly enough, by many of those same rural districts, was defeated. A bill which would drastically liberalize old-age assistance was first passed by a sizable majority, and then overwhelmingly beaten on its second and final reading—savings to the taxpayer estimated at \$150,000 in 1940 and \$800,000 in 1941. A political move to eliminate the highly successful State Planning Board was defeated 325 to 89 in the House, after winning in the small Senate. A bill to enlarge the powers of the State Tax Commission to audit the books of cities was easily passed.

In the cities and towns, progress, while undeniable, was less striking, because the amounts involved were smaller. During the budget year 1939 there were tax associations in eighteen New Hampshire communities. Because of the imposition of a state tobacco tax, and the elimination of the state tax on property, there should have been a general property tax reduction throughout the state of \$2.28 a thousand. Actually, the reduction was only forty cents. But in the eighteen communities with tax associations the reduction amounted to a net \$115,442 more than in the other communities.

County government is one of New Hampshire's most serious problems. The nine counties, as elsewhere, comprise the hidden form of government. Unlike counties in other states, however, they have very extensive spending powers. They administer the bulk of relief and the county farms, hospitals, jails, and courthouses. Yet much which the counties do is also done by either the locality or the state.

The problem is to determine whether these county functions can better be performed by agencies other than the county. This is the biggest problem facing the federation in 1940, since it is its hope to submit to the 1941 General Court a comprehensive program for county reorganization.

The federation now has twenty-seven member associations, where less than two years ago there was one. Associations now exist in Nashua, Portsmouth, Manchester, Keene, Laconia, Claremont, Exeter, Concord, Newport, as well as in numerous smaller towns. Others are being formed in Rochester, Dover, and Meredith.

JOHN D. LANGMUIR, *President*

New Hampshire Federation of
Taxpayers' Associations, Inc.

County Surveys and Manager Plan Sponsored by North Dakota Taxpayers

A far-reaching program of governmental research is on the 1940 agenda of the North Dakota Taxpayers' Association and other local associations throughout the state.

High-lighting this program is the Cass County audit-survey released at a public hearing in Fargo January 23, and the initiation of a similar survey in Ward County, to be released in Minot some time during the month of May.

The state association is convinced that an excellent method of eliminating waste and inefficiency in governmental activities is by means of such surveys patterned after the system used in Nebraska for a number of years under the direction of Frank G. Arnold, president of the Nebraska Federation of County Taxpayers Leagues.

The surveys seek to analyze expenditures so that local taxpayers and officials may determine whether they are obtaining full value for the money expended and whether more economical operation cannot be secured without the elimination or impairment of necessary functions of government.

By means of the survey, sincere officials are able to correct unnoticed abuses and

taxpayers may intelligently insist on efficiency and economical administration.

The release of the Cass County audit-survey on January 23 reveals the present antiquated and inefficient methods of accounting now in use and demonstrates the urgent need of a uniform accounting, auditing, and budgeting arrangement in all departments of government. Further, the survey brings to the attention of the citizens, in many instances, officials' disregard of certain laws.

Numerous counties in the state are making inquiries regarding similar audit-surveys and it is likely that the service will be largely extended during the year.

The last session of the North Dakota legislature approved Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 135, endorsed by the Taxpayers' Association, which places on the June 1940 ballot a measure for alternative forms of county government, one of which must be the county manager form. The measure also provides for dissolution and consolidation.

If this constitutional amendment is passed, the legislative assembly must provide by law for optional forms of government for counties, but no such optional forms may become operative in any county until submitted to the electors at a special or general election and approved by 55 per cent of those voting.

J. M. CATHCART, *Secretary*

North Dakota Taxpayers'
Association, Inc.

Twenty-five Citizens— Eleven-Plank Platform

In line with his conviction that a working knowledge and understanding of municipal affairs on the part of the public will greatly improve standards of municipal government, on December 13, 1939, Mayor Vincent R. Corrou of Utica, New York, invited a group of twenty-five prominent business, professional, and labor representatives of the city of Utica to meet to discuss city problems. Thayer Burgess, local at-

torney, was named chairman and the group decided to organize as a Civic Affairs Committee with the express purpose of co-operating with city officials and making available to them the benefit of their advice and experience.

The committee's first task has been to coöperate with the city's Board of Estimate and Apportionment in preparing the annual budget. Other matters which the committee plans to study include: city finance, county finance, state legislation as it pertains to the city, consolidation of county and city welfare, methods of relieving real estate taxation, education of residents on the advantages of living in the city, attempts to attract new industries, investigation of detriments to the securing of new industries, the assessment situation as affected by certiorari action, study of the possibility of increasing residential construction within the city, methods of co-operating with existing organizations such as the Chamber of Commerce, Taxpayers' Research Bureau, service clubs, civic organizations, etc., in their efforts to promote the general welfare and industrial interest of the city.

This committee is nonpartisan. When the Mayor issued his initial call he specified that he would in no way attempt to influence any decisions of the committee, nor would he allow any other city officials to do so.

GEORGE P. HODGES

Secretary to Mayor Corrou
Utica, New York

Montclair, New Jersey, Publicizes Tax Cut

*Tax Collections Less in
Pasadena; Racing Yields
States Ten Millions*

Edited by

WADE S. SMITH

On February 12, 1940, the town of Mont-

clair, New Jersey, wealthy suburban community in the New York metropolitan area, stepped into the news spotlight with the announcement that a postcard poll was being taken of taxpayers as to the disposition of a \$500,000 surplus available for budget reduction in 1940. Taxpayers were asked whether they wanted to apply the entire amount to reduction of this year's tax levy, or whether they preferred to use only \$400,000 of it for tax reduction and apply the remaining \$100,000 to debt reduction. Early returns indicated a four-to-one vote in favor of splitting the surplus between tax and debt reduction. The postcard poll precedes by several months the quadrennial election for town commissioners, with the present administration strongly playing up its record for tax reduction during the past four years.

While the administration enthusiastically publicized the town's fortunate position, the minority member of the town commission declared the surplus to be a myth. He cited the fact that the town in 1938 went under the state cash basis law which requires reserves for uncollected taxes based on a definite formula. No such reserves were provided in the 1938 budget, prepared under the revenue system used previously, but a reserve of nearly \$650,000 was necessary in the 1939 budget under the cash basis law. For 1940, the minority member says, the reserve will be cut about \$300,000, and this reduction represents the major portion of the so-called surplus.

Such conflicting statements on decreases—and increases—in local tax levies are frequent, and the layman without knowledge of the intricacies of municipal accounting usually shrugs them off with the thought that statistics can be made to mean almost anything.

The municipal finance expert, on the other hand, looking at the Montclair situation, would probably find things somewhat different from either of the points of view indicated above. He would find, for instance, that Montclair had suffered a series of operating deficits through the depres-

sion, which by the close of the year 1937 resulted in a general fund accumulated cash deficiency of nearly \$1,240,000, despite more favorable operating results in that year. Late in 1938, he would discover, the city found itself with a total of \$1,150,000 tax loans outstanding—\$430,000 in the form of so-called tax revenue notes, payable from delinquent taxes, and \$720,000 in the form of tax anticipation notes, payable from the proceeds of the 1938 tax levy then in collection. On December 1, 1938, going further, he would find that the city sold \$960,000 funding bonds, using the proceeds to pay off the \$430,000 delinquent tax notes and \$530,000 of the tax anticipation notes. The balance of the tax anticipation notes were paid from current funds.

Looking at this situation objectively, the finance expert would probably point out that by funding \$530,000 of notes payable from current revenues, Montclair actually created a current surplus of a like amount. The funding operation, in other words, released \$530,000 of 1938 taxes, during the fiscal year 1938, and as these current taxes came in they were entirely unencumbered. Of course, the finance expert would also point out that the \$530,000 current surplus had been achieved by creating a capital liability (in this case funding bonds) of a like amount, and this borrowed money would have to be paid back in future years in the form of bond principal and interest. Thus, to the objective outsider with a knowledge of accounting procedure, it would appear that Montclair taxpayers are taking a present tax reduction in exchange for future taxation to raise \$500,000 bond principal and interest. Some taxpayers in similar situations have preferred that surpluses so created be used up gradually over a period of years to offset the debt service on the funding bonds, and so help stabilize the annual tax levy.

Pasadena Tax Collections Slump

Pasadena, California, has long been outstanding for the excellence of its tax collec-

tion record. Hence, an increase in current tax delinquency, however slight, at a time when the average city continues to show improvement in this important index of municipal finances, attracts attention. For the fiscal year 1937-38 the city's year-end current tax delinquency was 3.8 per cent of the year's levy. For 1938-39, however, year-end delinquency increased to 4.2 per cent.

According to a statement by the city manager in his annual report for 1938-39, the increase appears to be deliberate on the part of a small group of taxpayers. Pointing out that a small issue of special assessment district bonds were refunded into less onerous form in 1938, the manager notes "a definite desire on the part of property owners in the special assessment districts to refund the present outstanding bonded obligations," which was accompanied by an increase in special assessment delinquencies from 13.0 per cent at the close of 1937-38 to 50.1 per cent at the end of 1938-39. The small increase in general property tax delinquency, he says, "was probably caused by the large increase in delinquencies in the special assessment districts."

Fortunately for the city's financial position, the special assessment situation can have only a slight and limited effect on general tax collections, as indicated by the collection record during the worst depression years when the special assessment districts were facing their worst difficulties. Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that even in a city with the sound governmental traditions of Pasadena, something like a tax strike on a small scale can occur.

Few New Revenues for Relief

Few cities have been able to develop new sources of revenue to match increases in local relief and emergency employment costs during the last ten years, the Municipal Finance Officers' Association of the United States and Canada reported recently. The report was based on a study of relief finance methods of more than fifty cities.

Only four cities—New York, San Francisco, Grand Rapids, and Erie—used special sources of revenue to any extent to finance relief programs. Almost all other cities used regular tax receipts both for direct relief and WPA and PWA costs.

Most cities used tax-supported bonds for their share of PWA projects, which included large public buildings and utility facilities. In most cities, also, a substantial part of general relief funds came from regular taxes. Louisville, Kentucky, for example, financed direct relief and its share of WPA work with regular taxes, and used tax-supported bond issues for large PWA projects. Baltimore annually has financed from 30 to 35 per cent of direct relief and all of its share of PWA costs from bond issues, but has paid its share of WPA expenses from regular taxes.

New York City became the great exception to the general practice when, some years ago, it adopted a policy of financing, as much as possible, all types of relief from current revenues. In 1939 the city paid 85 per cent of the cost of its three types of relief from current revenues, obtained mostly from municipal sales, cigarette, business, utility, and conduit taxes. It used new tax sources or other special methods to pay 60 per cent of its relief bill in 1938, 97 per cent in 1937.

Grand Rapids financed 55 per cent of its relief load in 1939, 27 per cent in 1938, and 10 per cent in 1937 from special sources. Its share of WPA costs was obtained from water department funds, special assessments, an estate left the city, and salvage of street car property. It financed PWA for 1935, 1936, and 1937 with water works funds and, in 1939, by a water revenue bond issue. San Francisco obtained money from utility revenues, gasoline taxes, and Golden Gate Exposition funds to finance 40 per cent of its relief burden last year.

The study showed that the larger cities and counties of California have generally been paying the entire local share of relief costs from regular taxes. Minneapolis, on the other hand, has financed all types of

relief from tax-supported bond issues. In general, however, most of the large cities have followed no continuing policy either as to issuing bonds to pay for various types of relief or financing them from regular taxes.

Kentucky Appropriation Bill Adopted Unanimously

The 1940 Kentucky legislature has passed unanimously the general appropriation bill to give effect to the executive budget! There was practically no discussion. No amendments were adopted—aside from correcting a clerical error. So far as is known, this is a record vote for any state. It certainly is one so far as Kentucky is concerned. However, the appropriation bill to make effective the budget for the current biennium was passed unanimously in the Senate and with three or four adverse votes in the House.

This political phenomenon has received little local discussion. Some commentators, however, have speculated on the reasons for so exceptional a vote. The explanations most frequently suggested are three: (1) Governor Keen Johnson occupies a strong political position. This is supported by the fact that in the November election he received a record majority. (2) The budget proposed was eminently fair in the light of all the circumstances. (3) The Governor submitted the estimates to the Legislative Council for advice before finally fixing them; the recommendations of the council paralleled those of the executive in respect of all expenditure proposals.

JAMES W. MARTIN

Bureau of Business Research
University of Kentucky

Racing Pays Ten Millions in Taxes

Pari-mutuel betting added nearly \$10,000,000 last year in taxes on racetrack wagers, track and occupational license fees, and admission taxes, to the coffers of sixteen states where it has been legalized,

according to a survey by the Council of State Governments. More than \$300,000-000 was wagered at tracks in the sixteen states.

Twelve of the states—Arkansas, California, Delaware, Florida, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Ohio, Oregon, Rhode Island, Washington, and West Virginia—place a tax on the total amount of money wagered through pari-mutuel machines. These states obtained more than \$8,500,000 in revenue from this source. The other four states—Illinois, Kentucky, Michigan, and Nebraska—do not tax wagers, but obtain revenue from license fees and admission taxes. Track license and occupational fees returned \$750,000 in revenue to thirteen of the sixteen states, while seven states obtained approximately \$700,000 from taxes on track admission tickets.

Disposition of racing revenues varies greatly from state to state. California received \$3,036,344, 4 per cent of \$75,908,600 wagered through the state's pari-mutuel machines, last year, and allocated the money for use by state, county and district agricultural fairs, and agricultural schools. Arkansas allocated 33 1/3 per cent of its total racing revenue, 4 per cent of \$3,090,917 wagered, to the state old-age pension fund, and the balance to the state charities fund. Rhode Island prorated its racing revenue among cities and towns, while Florida divided the revenue among its sixty-seven counties.

Twenty-two states now have legalized pari-mutuel betting at race tracks, but two states—New York and New Jersey—took this action only last year. There is little or no horse racing in four of the states—Maine, Nevada, New Mexico, and North Carolina. Sponsors of New York's constitutional amendment legalizing pari-mutuel betting predicted the state would obtain around \$8,000,000 a year in taxes.

Under the pari-mutuel system, those who bet on horses to win, place, or show in a race will share in the total amount—or "pool"—bet on all horses in the race. All bets are registered on a machine called a

"totalizator," which automatically calculates the amounts wagered and the odds on the various horses.

Governmental Accountants Organize

The Society of Governmental Accountants recently held its organization meeting at Los Angeles. Headed by its president, C. E. Cree, chief of division of audits, Los Angeles County Auditor's Office, this organization will bring together people engaged in governmental accounting, auditing, financial administration, and governmental office management for the following purposes: to advance the social, economic, and educational welfare of its members; to increase the personal efficiency of its members by joint discussion of governmental accounting problems; to further recognition of governmental accounting as a profession and to establish a central point of reference and meeting for its members. Dinner meetings are held on the third Monday in each month. At these meetings men prominent in governmental activities are introduced as guest speakers. Papers on governmental subjects are read by various designated members. It is hoped by the founders of the group that this unit will become the first chapter in a nationally organized Society of Governmental Accountants. All levels of government are represented in its membership. Information concerning the society may be obtained from C. E. Cree, of the Los Angeles County Auditor's Office.

Fourth P. R. Election in Norris

Another College Experience P. R. League Affairs

Edited by
GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.

On February 5 the town of Norris, Tennessee, held its fourth P. R. election, at

which members of the Norris Town Council were elected. This council, composed of nine members, is elected annually and serves in an advisory capacity to the TVA town management.¹

The vote cast in this election was smaller than at any previous election during the four years that P. R. has been in operation. The total vote cast was less than half the number of votes cast in the council election of a year ago and constituted less than a third of the eligible vote of the town. The light vote may be attributed in part to the small number of candidates who qualified for the election. Only nine candidates appeared on the ballot for the nine positions to be filled, and it is probable that many voters did not take the trouble to cast their ballots in the belief that the nine candidates would be elected in any case.

In the election notice, however, attention was called to the possibility of writing in names of candidates and many of the voters took advantage of this opportunity. Approximately a fourth of the voters marked their first choice for persons whose names did not appear on the ballot, two of whom were elected to the council.

For the first time since P.R. was inaugurated, all members of the council are employees of the Tennessee Valley Authority. This council will give trial to the recommendations of the Joint Committee on the Future Government of the Town of Norris regarding the relationships between the TVA and the Norris Town Council. It is also probable that this council will have under consideration problems relating to the future government of the town.

M. H. SATTERFIELD

Tennessee Valley Authority

P. R. at the University of Idaho

By the use of P. R. in student government at the University of Idaho, students

from over the state as well as many from outside states are obtaining first-hand experience of a live situation in government. The student body is divided about equally in voting strength between the United Students party, comprising Greek letter organizations, and the Independent party, comprising university dormitories and co-operative halls.

The major election of the year is the selection of a student body president and an executive board consisting of nine members. The Hare form of P. R. is legally in use. However, the two parties exert enough influence to allow each only nine nominees on the slate, thus tending toward the list system. The elected officers conduct student activities and handle approximately \$109,000 during the school year. That the students take their government quite seriously is exemplified by a vote of 2,100 out of 2,800 students in the election last May.

P. R. was incorporated into the student body constitution in an effort to secure minority party representation and to put student government on a sounder footing. Previous to 1936 one party elected all members of the board, but with the inception of P. R. the minority party obtained three members. There has been a five-four division each succeeding year and in the last election the tables turned in favor of the previous minority party.

Surely P. R. should stay, for not only is it wise to give a sizable minority a voice in a university, where after all there is a community of interests, but P. R. has made the majority party realize its responsibilities. Beyond this there is a wider participation in student government and students have come to realize that there are other methods of voting than the marking of a cross.

EDWARD H. JOHNSON

University of Idaho

The P. R. League Council

The trustees of the Proportional Representation League have recently elected

¹See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, Nov. 1939.

Charles H. Woodward of Philadelphia to fill a vacancy in the League's Advisory Council caused by the resignation of Robert Treat Paine of Boston. Mr. Paine, who helped the League materially in its early efforts when the principles and advantages of P.R. were much less widely known, wished to make way for someone who could now be more active in advancing the work.

Mr. Woodward is an attorney who has been very active and helpful in the promising efforts of the Philadelphia City Charter Committee to get a P.R.—city manager charter for his city. He is the son of the veteran state senator from the Germantown district of Philadelphia, Dr. George W. Woodward, who has sponsored P.R.—manager bills for Philadelphia several times and who last year helped put through the Senate the Philadelphia City Charter Commission's official P.R.—manager proposal.

Though the P.R. League operates now through the National Municipal League, with which its work was consolidated in 1932, it continues its separate corporate existence and its separate officers, who take a special interest in the P.R. part of the program. The present roster is as follows:

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION LEAGUE OFFICERS

President: A. R. Hatton, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois

Vice Presidents:

Thomas Raeburn White, Philadelphia

John R. Commons, Madison, Wis.

Mrs. Alice Thacher Post, Washington, D. C.

Honorary Secretary-Treasurer: C. G. Hoag, Haverford, Penna.

Executive Secretary: George H. Hallett, Jr., New York City

Field Secretary: Walter J. Millard, Cincinnati

Assistant Secretary: Elsie S. Parker, New York City

Honorary Vice Presidents:

John H. Humphreys, London, Secretary of the P. R. Society of Great Britain

The Right Honorable Lord Parmoor, K.C.V.O., of England

ADVISORY COUNCIL

(Trustees indicated by asterisks)

Albert S. Bard, New York City
Ex-Governor Robert P. Bass, Peterboro, N. H.

Charles A. Beard, New Milford, Conn.

William E. Boynton, Ashtabula, Ohio

Harold S. Bottenheim, New York City

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, New Rochelle, N. Y.

*Richard S. Childs, New York City

*Paul H. Douglas, Chicago

Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., St. Louis

Harold W. Dodds, Princeton, N. J.

*C. A. Dykstra, Madison, Wis.

Oliver J. Erickson, Seattle

Charles G. Fenwick, Bryn Mawr, Penna.

Cyrus J. Fitton, Hamilton, Ohio

John H. Finley, New York City

Glenn Frank, Madison, Wis.

Christopher M. Gallup, North Stonington, Conn.

Mrs. George Gellhorn, St. Louis

*A. R. Hatton, Evanston, Ill.

Julian G. Hearne, Jr., Wheeling, W. Va.

*C. G. Hoag, Haverford, Penna.

William Hoag, Boston

A. N. Holcombe, Cambridge, Mass.

Lewis C. Hunter, San Francisco

Lewis Jerome Johnston, Cambridge, Mass.

William C. Keough, Cleveland

Cameron H. King, San Francisco

Congressman Clarence F. Lea, Santa Rosa, Calif.

Samuel McCune Lindsay, New York City

Ben B. Lindsey, Los Angeles

Walter Lippmann, New York City

William J. Locke, San Francisco

Senator George W. Norris, McCook, Neb.

Robert L. Owen, Washington, D. C.

Ex-Senator George Wharton Pepper, Philadelphia

Charles H. Porter, Cambridge, Mass.

Jackson H. Ralston, Palo Alto, Calif.

Thomas H. Reed, New York City

Mrs. Raymond Robins, Washington, D. C.

Charles Edward Russell, Washington, D. C.

Monsignor John A. Ryan, Washington, D. C.

Murray Seasingood, Cincinnati

Samuel Seabury, New York City

*J. Henry Scattergood, Villa Nova, Penna.

Miss Belle Sherwin, Washington, D. C.

Don C. Sowers, Boulder, Colo.

Charles P. Taft, Cincinnati

Carl D. Thompson, Chicago

Lent D. Upson, Detroit

Henry M. Waite, Washington, D. C.

Senator David I. Walsh, Clinton, Mass.

*Thomas Raeburn White, Philadelphia

Charles H. Woodward, Philadelphia

Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

The New York Primer. By Luther Gulick and Rudolf Modley. New York City, The Regents Inquiry into the Character and Cost of Public Education in the State of New York, 1939. 46 pp. Twenty-five cents.

A few years ago a graph or chart that used pictorial symbols instead of unrelenting straight lines or humorless curves to make its point was considered an amusing, if perhaps trivial, fancy to sugar-coat statistical information for the lazy mind. Those puritanical intellects who felt uneasily that there was something even a little immoral about thus sugar-coating hard facts and cold figures will find the *New York Primer* an object at which to throw up their hands in horror. The make-learning-attractive-for-the-masses crowd may, on the other hand, call the *New York Primer* the most exciting thing that has struck political science in generations.

Imagine a fifteen-volume two-year survey of all the aspects of the entire school system of New York State compressed into forty-six pictures, some of them distinctly frivolous pictures. Imagine the textual accompaniment to these pictures limited to about a thousand words, the type size equivalent to that reserved in many daily newspapers for front-page headlines.

Mr. Modley's art has changed considerably since those first few, isolated jazzed-up charts which he brought over from his native Vienna a few years ago. Now his pictures can be put together to tell a complete story, and in the *New York Primer*, at least, less than half of them can be called statistics. In the strict sense of the word, they are cartoons, cartoons that illustrate facts, certainly, but not figures. Whether this quiet elimination of the word "statistics" from the term "pictorial statistics" makes the result any less valuable, it is for the reader—perhaps it would be better to call him the looker—to judge.

But whether the looker likes or dislikes, he will almost certainly be amused, challenged, and set to wondering whether science need really live in an ivory tower after all.

M. R.

Voting Behavior: A Case Study. By James Kerr Pollock. (Michigan Governmental Studies, No. 3.) Ann Arbor, Bureau of Government, University of Michigan, 1939. 42 pp. Twenty-five cents.

As this is written word comes that the voters of Newark, New Jersey, have just turned down a proposed manager plan charter by a decisive majority. Does this mean that a majority of Newark residents who are citizens, over twenty-one years of age, and thus qualified to vote, do not want a manager plan charter?

An examination of *Voting Behavior: A Case Study* in Ann Arbor, Michigan, by James K. Pollock, supplies the answer by implication. For in Ann Arbor, a university town where intelligence and civic spirit are presumably high, "the figures . . . which show the city-wide voting behavior . . . may well give the friends of democracy and representative government a few moments of prayerful meditation. Nearly two-thirds of the 23,000 people in the city are qualified to vote . . . Of the approximately 15,000 qualified voters, 11.7 per cent did not take the trouble to register. . . . Of the electorate, that is, those citizens who have taken the trouble to register, only 29.3 per cent on an average actually go to the polls to vote. In other words, out of the 23,000 people of Ann Arbor, about 3,800 voters run the city and make its political decisions."

Aside from its frightening findings, this study illustrates the possibilities of the use of electoral statistics for gaining objective information in political science.

M. R.

Democracy at Work: Living in American Communities. By Ernest Fincher, R. E. Fraser, and W. G. Kimmel. Philadelphia, John C. Winston Company, 1939. 566 pages. \$1.36.

In the hands of Messrs. Fincher, Fraser, and Kimmel "civics"—that bugbear of high school subjects—has become alive, important, and interesting. The authors have discarded the usual expository techniques used in textbook writing, and have written in almost "story book" style. Much of the dryness of civics has been removed by the presentation of usual material in an unusual way. To say that this book is dramatic would not be strictly true—but it is true that the material is presented in an animated way which approaches the dramatic. Citizens in everyday life are given names, places of residence and character. *Democracy at Work* shows how the individual functions in society; and it shows also the relationship of the citizen to his government.

The authors of *Democracy at Work* have what would appear to this reviewer to be a healthy economic philosophy. They are aware of the increasing importance of government—of the expansion of governmental functions—and they make a sincere attempt to bring these changes in philosophy and function to the attention of the student. The volume is unusually well illustrated. The pictures are numerous and up-to-date; charts, cartoons, and "pictographs" are to be found in every chapter.

W. RICHARD LOMAX

Institute of Politics
Indiana University

Additional Books and Reports Received

Assessments

Proceedings of the Sixth National Conference on Assessment Administration, held at San Francisco, California, October 10 to 13, 1939. Chicago, National Association of Assessing Officers, 1939. iv, 60 pp.

Urban Land Appraisal. A description of methods employed in assessing property taxes. Chicago, National Association of Assessing Officers, 1940. vi, 170 pp. Three dollars.

Civil Service

Civil Service Act and Rules, Statutes, Executive Orders and Regulations—with notes and legal decisions—amended to June 30, 1939. By United States Civil Service Commission. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 1939. 277 pp. Twenty-five cents.

Proceedings of Thirty-first Annual Meeting of the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, San Francisco, California, October 16, 17, 18, 19 and 20, 1939. Chicago, Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, 1939. 86 pp. \$5.00.

Synopsis of Activities, Department of Personnel and Civil Service Commission, City of Cincinnati, Year 1939. Cincinnati, Civil Service Commission, 1940. 19 pp. mimeo.

Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Civil Service Commission of the City of San Diego, California, for the fiscal year July 1, 1938, to June 30, 1939. San Diego, Civil Service Commission, 1939. 23 pp. mimeo.

County Government

Audit-Survey of Cass County, North Dakota. A study of county government—receipts, expenditures, records, administration, waste. Compiled by Fyrne L. Williams. Fargo, North Dakota Taxpayers' Association Inc., 1940. 122 pp.

Democracy

Democracy: A Reading List. Compiled by Benson Y. Landis. Chicago, American Library Association, 1940. 16 pp. Twenty-five cents (reduced prices for quantities).

Schools for Democracy. Compiled by Charl Ormond Williams with assistance of Frank W. Hubbard. Chicago, National

Congress of Parents and Teachers, 1939. 239 pp.

Education

Influence of Tax-Leeway on Educational Adaptability. A study of the relationship of residual or potential economic ability, expressed as tax-leeway, to educational adaptations in the State of New York. By Widnell Dimsdale Knott. New York City, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1939. x, 84 pp. \$1.60.

1000 School Fires. A record of 1000 school fires and major school disasters reported to the National Fire Protection Association. Boston, National Fire Protection Association, 1939. 72 pp. Thirty-five cents.

School Accounting and Financial Reporting. A Manual for School Districts Prepared by the Finance Staff of the Regents' Inquiry, vi, 58 pp., seventy-five cents; **Secondary School Programs**, by Herbert G. Espy, 87 pp., one dollar; **Situations Affecting School Persistence**, by Everett B. Sackett, 39 pp., fifty cents; **The Teaching of Reading in the Elementary and Secondary Schools of the State of New York**, by William S. Gray and Bernice E. Leary, vii, 105 pp., one dollar. New York City, The Regents' Inquiry into the Character and Cost of Public Education in the State of New York, 1939.

Federal Government

The Constitution of the United States at the End of One Hundred Fifty Years. With an introduction by Hugh Evander Willis. Bloomington, Indiana University Bookstore, 1939. 72 pp. Seventy-five cents.

Libraries

Libraries in the Contemporary Crisis. By Archibald MacLeish. (Address at Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, on

Founders' Day, October 19, 1939.) Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1939. 12 pp.

Planning and Zoning

All Together! By J. A. Wolf. St. Louis, St. Louis Foundation for Neighborhood Improvement, 20 pp. illus.

Progress Report. Statement of the Advisory Committee, National Resources Committee. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1939. v, 173 pp. Thirty-five cents.

Your Home Town. A community development handbook. By Frederick P. Clark. Concord, New Hampshire Planning and Development Commission, 1939. 62 pp. illus. Twenty-five cents.

Zoning Protects Property Values. By W. Phillip Shatts. (Paper presented at conference of New Jersey Federation of Official Planning Boards.) New York City, Regional Plan Association, Inc., 1939. 5 pp. mimeo.

Population

Urban Population in the United States from the First Census (1790) to the Fifteenth Census (1930). Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1939. 11 pp.

Public Opinion

The Place of Public Opinion Polls in a Democracy. By George Gallup. (Paper prepared for American Political Science Association, Washington, D. C., December 29, 1939.) New York, American Institute of Public Opinion, 1940. 14 pp.

Toward an Informed Public Opinion. Annual Report of the President of Town Hall 1938-1939. New York City, The Town Hall, 1939. 51 pp.

Public Welfare and Relief

General Relief Operations of Public Agencies in Selected Large Cities January 1938—June 1939. Washington, D. C., Social Security Board, 1939. 47 pp. mimeo.

Migration and Social Welfare. An approach to the problem of the non-settled person in the community. By Philip E. Ryan. New York City, Russell Sage Foundation, 1940. vii, 114 pp. Fifty cents.

Questions and Answers on the WPA. Washington, D. C., Federal Works Agency, Work Projects Administration, 1939. 26 pp.

Size of Visitor's Caseload as a Factor in Efficient Administration of Assistance. By Constance Hastings and Saya S. Schwartz. Philadelphia, Depart-

ment of Public Assistance, Philadelphia County Board, 1939. 33 pp. mimeo.

Study of the Department of Public Welfare, Hartford, Connecticut. Hartford, Governmental Research Institute, 1939. 125 pp. mimeo.

Refuse

Combustible Refuse Collection Survey, City of Cleveland. By Work Projects Administration (Project No. 17254). Cleveland, Department of Public Service, 1939. 52 pp.

Refuse Materials. Classification of refuse materials, definitions, characteristics, quantities produced—all in relation to the problem of refuse collection. By Committee on Refuse Collection. Chicago, American Public Works Association, 1940. 44 pp. Fifty cents.

Thirty Cities in a Looking-Glass

A good newspaper, they say, is the mirror of the community. Hence, when newspapermen speak their minds on how the council-manager plan has worked out in their cities, their testimony is bound to be a pretty adequate reflection of how citizens really feel about the manager plan in action.

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